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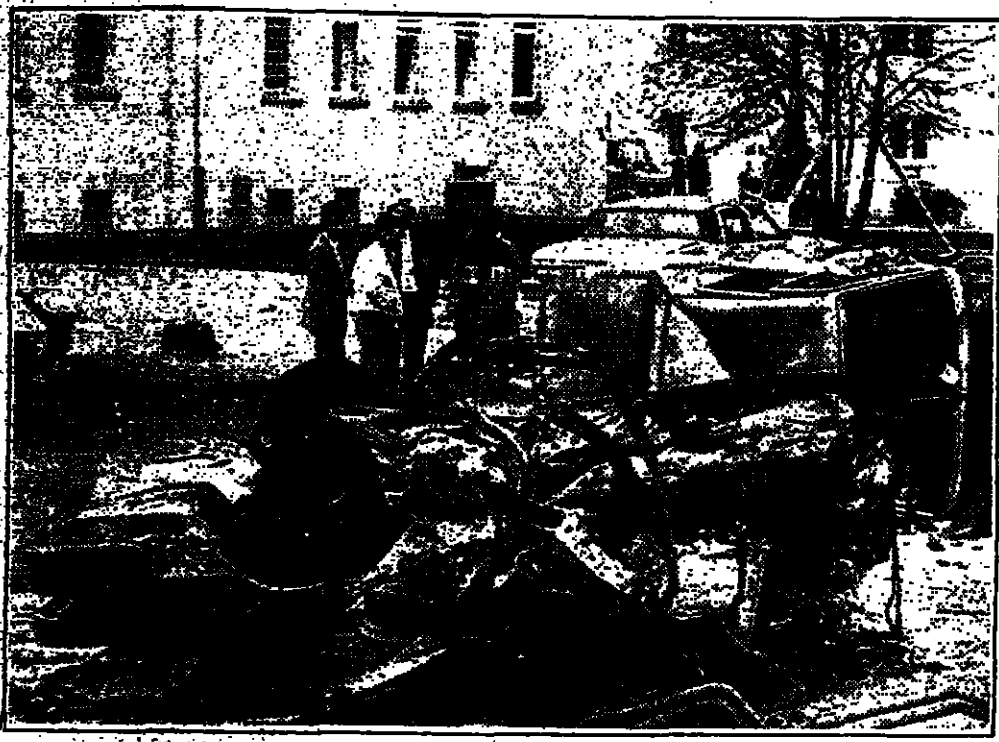
# Herald Tribune

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PARIS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1985

ESTABLISHED 1887



West German police examined debris left by the blast at Rhein-Main Air Base on Thursday.

## 2 Americans Are Killed as Car Bomb Explodes at Air Base Near Frankfurt

FRANKFURT — A bomb hidden in a parked car exploded Thursday morning outside the heavily guarded headquarters of the U.S. Rhein-Main Air Base, killing two persons and injuring more than 20, the authorities said.

No group claimed responsibility for the attack. But federal police said they were seeking 12 members of the Red Army Faction, the leftist terrorist group, in connection with the explosion.

The U.S. European Command headquarters in Stuttgart identified one of the dead as Airman First Class Frank H. Searns, 19, of Woodhaven, Michigan. West German police said the second victim was an American woman.

More than 20 people injured in the explosion, most of them Americans, were treated and released at the Rhein-Main medical clinic the military said in Frankfurt. At least two other persons, one a West German woman, remained hospitalized late Thursday.

## Gemayel Endorses Moslems

Meets Assad, Supports More Power-Sharing

DAMASCUS — President Amin Gemayel of Lebanon said Thursday that he supports his Moslem opponents' demand for a greater share of power and blamed his country's 10-year civil war on the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

Speaking at a news conference in Damascus after a five-hour meeting with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, Mr. Gemayel said he was now "a little more optimistic" that the Lebanese conflict was nearing an end.

Mr. Gemayel, a Maronite Catholic, echoed the thinking of Mr. Assad, who has been pressing Mr. Gemayel to make sweeping political reforms and patch up ancient rivalries with the country's Moslems.

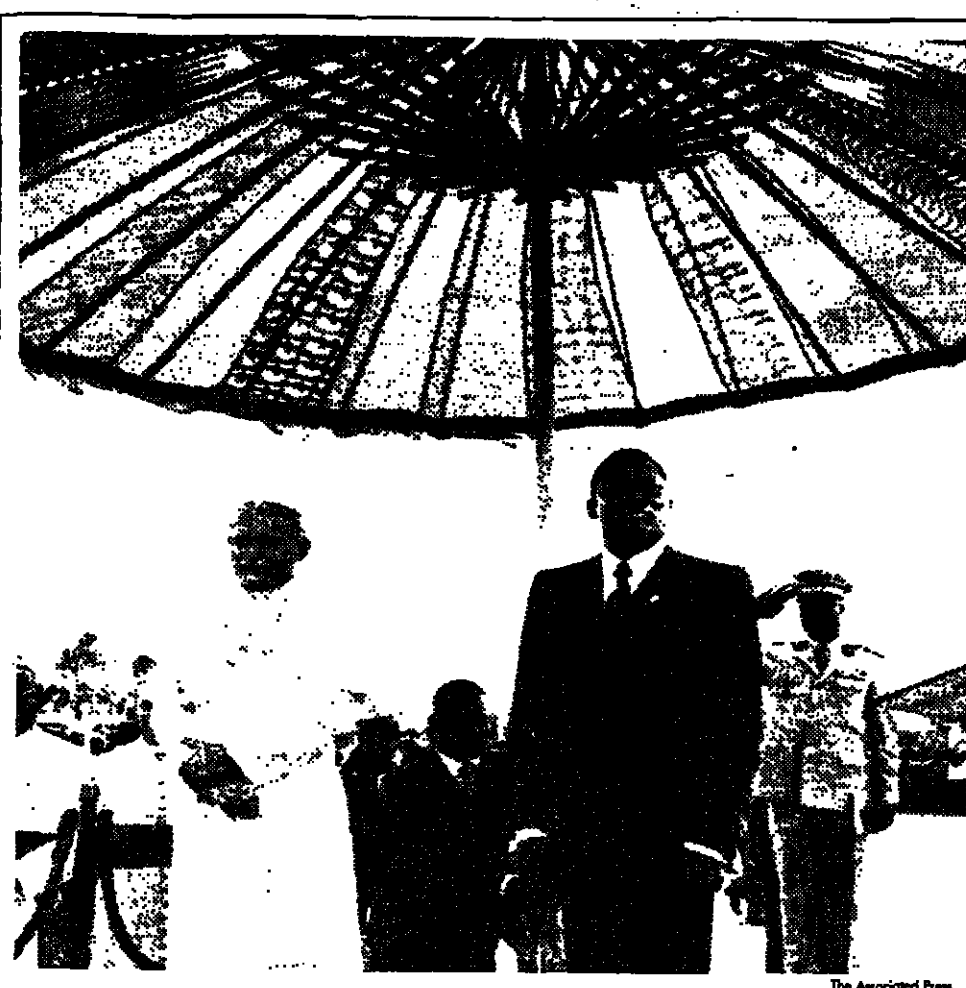
It is time to renovate Lebanon's constitution," Mr. Gemayel said. "But the reforms must safeguard Lebanon's independence and sovereignty as well as the equality among its citizens, their liberty and free economy."

As Mr. Gemayel spoke, Prime Minister Rashid Karami of Lebanon, a Sunni Moslem, nodded approvingly but made no comment.

The Lebanese president's authority has been increasingly eroded by calls for his ouster from his Moslem foes and new alliances that cut him out in his own Christian constituency.

Mr. Gemayel praised Syria's efforts to help him restore government authority. But he criticized other Arab governments for failing to help Lebanon, especially for ignoring his calls for joint Arab action to face a U.S. boycott of Beirut International Airport in retaliation for the hijacking of a Trans World Airlines plane on June 14.

Lebanon and Syria were among five nations that boycotted an Arab



## Pope Arrives in Togo to Open His African Visit

Pope John Paul II with President Gnassingbé Eyadema of Togo at the airport in Lomé. The pontiff, beginning his seven-nation African tour Thursday, said churches in Africa are at a stage in which their faith should mature and bear "authentically African and authentically Christian fruits." Changes in the style of worship in Africa since colonial times have troubled the Vatican. Page 4.

## S. Africa, U.S. Aides Confer

Pretoria Sets New Strictures; Unrest Spreads

WASHINGTON — Robert C. McFarlane, the U.S. national security adviser, and Foreign Minister R.F. Botha of South Africa met in Vienna on Thursday to discuss the tense situation in South Africa, the State Department said.

The meeting at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna, the first known high-level session between U.S. and South African officials since Pretoria declared a state of emergency last month, was at the urgent request of the South African government, according to Bernard Kalb, the State Department spokesman. He revealed the talks under questioning from reporters.

When the subject of a meeting first was raised by the South African government two weeks ago, the State Department said there were no plans for one.

Mr. Kalb said Mr. McFarlane was joined at the talks by Chester A. Crocker, the assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Mr. Crocker is the principal author of the U.S. policy of "constructive engagement," which is designed to keep channels of communication open with the Pretoria government to influence its policies.

Mr. Kalb said he had no information on other participants or details of the talks.

The meeting came as the South African government announced broadly expanded special police powers under its state of emergency following deepening violence that claimed at least 16 lives overnight and attacks on Asian businessmen in the area around Durban in the eastern part of the country.

The newly imposed measures in South Africa included a curfew in the black townships around Port Elizabeth and an order confining black children to their classrooms in Johannesburg.

The measures were announced in a special edition of the Government Gazette a few hours after President Pieter W. Botha warned that such steps might be taken if there were no end to the nation's unrest.

Earlier, in Pietermaritzburg, 50 miles (80 kilometers) north of Durban, about 100 black youths smashed windows in an Asian trading area and terrified shopkeepers after a memorial service for Victoria Mxenge, a black civil rights lawyer who was killed Aug. 1.

Followers reported that they killed nine persons overnight in battles with Zulu youths that spilled into Asian suburbs outside Durban. A hospital said 16 bodies were delivered overnight and a radio report put the death toll at 19.

A curfew of 10 P.M. to 4 A.M. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## Managua Rebels Got Military Advice From Aides on U.S. Security Council

By Joel Brinkley and Shirley Christian  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Rebels fighting to overthrow the Nicaraguan government have been receiving direct military advice from White House officials on the National Security Council, senior Reagan administration officials and members of Congress have disclosed.

A senior administration official said the direction had included advice and "tactical influence" on the rebels' military operations, as well as help in raising money from private sources.

The officials and lawmakers said the direct White House involvement in the rebels' operations against Nicaragua began last year, after Congress ended military aid to the rebels. Congress has since agreed to send the rebels \$27 million in nonmilitary assistance.

Although some members of Congress say they believe that the NSC operation flouted the intent of legislation banning direct aid to the rebels, they said that they do not believe it violates U.S. laws.

"If the president wants to use the NSC to operate a war in Nicaragua, I don't think there's any way we can control it," said Representative George E. Brown Jr., a Democrat of California and a member of the House Select Committee on Intelligence. He and other members said they had discussed the operation. "But," Mr. Brown added, "we haven't taken any formal action."

[Larry Speakes, the chief White House spokesman, confirmed Thursday that there were NSC contacts with the rebels, but he said that they were within the spirit and

## France Orders Query of Greenpeace Bombing

By Stanley Meisler  
Los Angeles Times Service

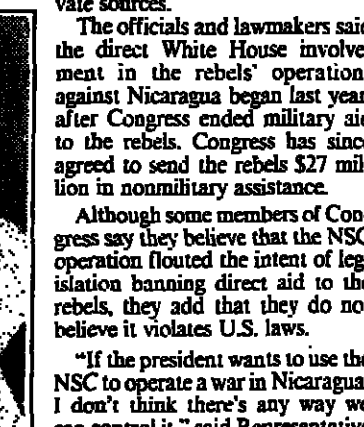
PARIS — The French government, on direct orders from President François Mitterrand, opened an investigation Thursday into charges that French intelligence agents bombed and sank the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior in New Zealand last month.

The importance attached to the case was underscored when Prime Minister Laurent Fabius appointed Bernard Tricot, 65, a highly respected member of the Council of State and chief of staff to General Charles de Gaulle, to head the inquiry.

According to the mandate laid down for Mr. Tricot by Mr. Mitterrand, any guilty French officials, "at whatever level they are found, must be severely punished." The investigation follows charges by two French weekly magazines of involvement by French intelligence agents.

Mr. Fabius said Mr. Tricot's conclusions would be made public. His appointment was seen as unprecedented because French government in the past have not put investigations of security issues in the hands of nonmilitary civil servants.

The Rainbow Warrior, which was preparing to lead a flotilla of protest ships into the French nuclear testing area in Mururoa Atoll in Polynesia, was bombed in Auckland harbor on July 10, Armando Pereira, a Portuguese-born Dutch



Alain Turenge, 33, and Sophie Turenge, 36, who were charged in Auckland, New Zealand, with murder and arson.

photographer, was killed in the explosion.

The New Zealand police arrested a French-speaking man and woman, who are believed to have attached two bombs to the hull of the Rainbow Warrior. The couple, who have been charged with sabotage and murder, carried Swiss passports that identified them as Alain Jacques Turenge and Sophie Frédérique Claire Turenge.

But the Swiss government described the passports as false, and the two French magazines, L'Evenement du Jeudi and VSD, accused the Turenenges this week of working as agents of France's intelligence agency. The agency, the General Direction of Foreign Security, is headed by Admiral Pierre Lacoste, a Mitterrand appointee.

In setting up the investigation, Mr. Fabius said it was necessary because a "link had been claimed" between the couple arrested in New Zealand and French intelligence. The prime minister did not say who had made the accusation, but it is doubtful that an investigation of such a nature would have been undertaken solely on the basis of magazine stories.

For this reason, it is considered probable that the accusations that prompted the investigation came from the New Zealand government. Mr. Fabius, in fact, promised that the French would cooperate fully with the New Zealand police on the case.

Mr. Mitterrand, according to his office, sent a letter to Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand on Thursday pledging "the determination of France to shed all light on the affair."

Agence France-Presse, a French news agency, reported that the New Zealand police are convinced of a link between French intelligence and the bombing, and that the French police, after making their own inquiries, have agreed with their New Zealand counterparts.

Greenpeace, a private organization founded in Canada but supported throughout the world, pursues two programs, disarmament and environmental protection, often using dramatic means. It intended to steam into the French nuclear testing area in the South Pacific to disrupt the tests.

In its report on the case, the newsmagazine L'Evenement du Jeudi said that the New Zealand police suspected that the Turenenges were agents of the French intelligence organization. The magazine said the French agents bombed the ship because they wanted to keep it from finding out about the construction of a new airstrip on the island of Hao, a base for the Tahiti nuclear experimentation station.

## Soviet Moving To Raise Quality For Consumers

United Press International

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has taken steps to raise the quality of consumer goods and eliminate obsolete products, Pravda said Thursday.

The major revisions of economic policy were approved at a recent meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers following regional experiments. They will be put into effect in 1986.

The wholesale price of quality merchandise will be increased by up to 30 percent, while wholesale prices of outdated and low-quality goods will be reduced up to 70 percent.

Thus it would be profitable for the collectives to produce products of high quality and unprofitable to produce out-of-date models, the newspaper said.

The state will make up for reduced income by taxing bonus funds of the workers.

Spending on new equipment for factories would be increased, and suppliers would be penalized 5 percent for late delivery or delivery of incomplete equipment.

"The success of the re-equipment depends, to a large extent, on the quality of the equipment," Pravda said.

As an added incentive, a 5 percent bonus will be paid to suppliers who deliver the new equipment on time and in good condition.

## Employees Try to Block Earlier Bids for TWA

The Associated Press

KANSAS CITY, Missouri — A group of Trans World Airlines employees said Thursday that it had raised \$1 billion in financial backing to acquire the airline and block takeover attempts by the financier Carl C. Icahn and Texas Air Corp.

TWA officials said that they would consider the offer if it was a serious one. But officials of two of the airline's three main unions said that the employees' group was too late.

Mr. Icahn disclosed Wednesday, in a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission, that he had accumulated 15.6 million shares, or 45.5 percent, of TWA's approximately 34.5 million total common shares outstanding.

That left him on the verge of taking control of the New York-based carrier, despite TWA's tentative agreement to be acquired by Texas Air for cash and securities valued at \$793.5 million.

Spokesmen for Mr. Icahn and Texas Air declined Thursday to comment on the effort by employees to take over the airline until they could review the plan more thoroughly.

A different group of employees made a similar offer in June but abandoned the proposal when Texas Air made its bid.

The new group is aided by a former Missouri governor, Christopher Bond. It has received commitments for financing "in the range of \$1 billion" from U.S. and European lenders, said John Kremer, a senior partner with the Kansas City law firm of Gage & Tucker, where Mr. Bond also is a partner.

Mr. Bond, a Republican, served two terms as governor, 1972 to 1976 and 1980 to 1984.

Mr. Kremer said that the TWA Employees Committee was evaluating whether to accept the conditions of the financing package. The price of any offer would "depend upon the situation that exists at the time of the offer," he said.

He said that the employee committee, headed by Donald C. Ulrich, hoped to make a bid in 10 to 20 days.

However, officials of the Air Line Pilots Association and the International Federation of Flight Attendants unions were skeptical about any effort by employees to buy the airline.

"He's just a little too late," said the pilots union leader, Harry Hoglander, referring to Mr. Ulrich.

The pilots union, along with the machinists union, have agreed with Mr. Icahn to \$300 million worth of contract concessions in exchange for TWA stock and profit-sharing in an effort to avoid a takeover by Texas Air. The Texas Air chairman, Frank A. Lorenzo, has a reputation among union members as being anti-labor.

The president of the flight attendants' union, which has not agreed to the concessions, also expressed doubt about the employee proposal.

"Mr. Ulrich is essentially a day late and a dollar short," said Vicki Frankovich. "Since Carl Icahn has so many shares, I don't see how any other party will be able to acquire them. The numbers are just not there."

TWA's general counsel, Ulrich



Carl C. Icahn

Hoffmann said that if the employee group submitted a "bona fide" offer the airline's board of directors would consider it.

Texas Air, the Houston-based parent of Continental Airlines and New York Air, agreed to pay \$19 in cash and \$4 of a new preferred stock in TWA for each existing TWA common share.

TWA also granted Texas Air an option to purchase 6.43 million newly issued TWA shares at \$19.625 each.

But Mr. Icahn improved on Texas Air's proposal earlier this week by offering 52.4 shares in cash and preferred stock for those shares his group does not own.

Since then, TWA has been silent while Mr. Icahn has continued buying the airline's stock. TWA closed Thursday at \$21.875 per share on the New York Stock Exchange, up 12.5 cents.

## INSIDE

■ Summer 1945: As Japan stood itself for the invader, U.S. troops in the Pacific were deterred by the prospect of a bloody attack. Page 3.

■ WEEKEND  
■ The Celts, from Scotland to Galicia, are gathering in Britain — an identity in search of a country. Page 7.

■ BUSINESS/FINANCE  
■ Royal Dutch/Shell Group posted an unexpectedly sharp decline of 17 percent in second-quarter net income. Page 11.

■ Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew acknowledged that Singapore's economy had taken its worst fall in 20 years. Page 11.

■ TOMORROW  
■ Sourin Melikian examines the relationship between dealers and auction houses in the first of three articles on Christie's falsification of sales information and art market practices.

Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother was taken on a tour to 1,350 miles (2,160) sonic airliner Monday.

Dismissed  
involved considered the project an extraordinary and complex publishing rights in a single autobiography. Bantam is expected to publish the book in late 1987. The book, as the growth of Playboy magazine from the first issue, published in 1953, to the present, is a "now-famous" photo of Marilyn Monroe.

Enzo Angileri will give a free concert for the World Wildlife Fund this week in Modena, Italy. The concert will be held in the main square, Piazza Grande, on Aug. 14. The event will draw thousands of people from all over the world.

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## Anti-Sandinist Leaders Say Most Rebel Forces Are Back in Nicaragua

By Edward Cody  
Washington Post Service

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras — The leading anti-Sandinist rebel force, under new arrangements with the Honduran Army, has sent the bulk of its forces back across the border re-equipped to resume regular attacks against government targets inside Nicaragua, according to guerrilla leaders.

The large-scale movement into Nicaragua, confirmed by Honduran and other sources here, is designed to end a seven-month period of relative inactivity imposed by the cutoff last year of financing from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, rebel leaders said.

It was financed with money received this spring from undisclosed sources outside the U.S. government and now translated into arms, ammunition and other equipment shipped through Honduras into the hands of rebel combatants, they said.

The accelerated pace of anti-Sandinist guerrilla activity was dramatically demonstrated last week, when one rebel squad controlled the town of La Trinidad on the Pan American Highway for four hours and another inflicted more than 50 casualties in an attack on army forces at Cuapa, near Lake Nicaragua.

The attacks, one on Nicaragua's main road a short drive from large army installations in Estelí and the other deep inside the country, were seen as bold declarations of rebel strength in regions that Nicaragua's Popular Sandinist Army has taken great pains to control.

"Cuapa is clear on the other side of the country from the Honduran border," said Alfonso Robelo Calles, a member of the latest guerrilla umbrella leadership, the Nicaraguan Opposition Union. "This is very important."

The guerrillas' re-equipping had nothing to do with \$27 million in nonlethal aid for the insurgent movement provided last month by the U.S. Congress, rebel leaders said. It still is unclear how that money can be spent and what part of the U.S. government will administer it here and in Washington.

Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, the chief political figure of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, said that rebel leaders already had found enough money to resume attacks inside Nicaragua and maintain the consistent presence there that his troops were forced to abandon last winter.

Mr. Calero, whose group is the main guerrilla force, said, for example, that he bought 5,000 G-3 automatic rifles on credit earlier this year and since had purchased and shipped ammunition for these weapons. For the group's AK-47 assault rifles and for support weapons such as rocket-propelled grenade launchers and mortars.

About 50,000 pounds (22,500 kilograms) of supplies, amounting to nearly a million rounds of ammunition, have been shipped inside Nicaragua in the last few weeks, he said.

Honduran sources said that the Nicaraguan Democratic Force had been using a recently acquired DC-4 cargo plane to aid in the transport.

Mr. Calero and Frank Arana, FDN's spokesman in Tegucigalpa, said that the group had more than 17,000 men under arms, with enough guns on hand to equip 5,000 more. About 15,000 rebels have moved inside Nicaragua, Mr. Arana said.

guedes, said the NSC program had not been operated under the specific rules and procedures of the presidential executive order that covers covert intelligence operations. "They found a way around it," he said.

Officials said that the NSC officer often meets with Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the largest rebel group, and with Arturo José Cruz, another opposition leader.

A Nicaraguan exile leader with close ties to the rebels said that the officer was "a very important man" in the continuing efforts to reorganize and better coordinate the operations of the two main rebel groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force in Honduras and the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance in Costa Rica.

Now that Congress has approved renewed aid to the rebels and the operation is to be moved to a new State Department agency, a senior official said that the administration hoped to build the rebel armies from their present combined strength of about 20,000 to 35,000 in the next six months.

The aim, he said, is to move from the guerrilla warfare stage of the last several years to frontal attacks. A rebel force seized and briefly held a small town in north-central Nicaragua late last month.



Witness for Peace members on the Costa Rican side of San Juan River before their capture.

## Nicaraguan Rebels Release U.S. Peace Group

The Associated Press

MANAGUA — Twenty-nine American peace activists and 18 journalists, reportedly kidnapped by anti-Sandinist rebels, were freed on Thursday, a spokesman for the Witness for Peace organization said.

Rafael Pina said the activists were heading for San Carlos, a town on Lake Nicaragua, where the Nicaraguan government had organized a reception for the group.

"We understand they are all unharmed and that there were no conditions for their release," said another group leader, Yvonne Dilling. The peace group said the activists radioed their Managua office

on Wednesday and reported that the Nicaraguan rebels had forced them off a boat in which they were traveling on the San Juan River, near the Costa Rican border.

The Nicaraguan government said Wednesday that U.S.-backed anti-Sandinist rebels had intercepted the boat carrying the Witness for Peace members as it sailed on the San Juan River 11 miles (18 kilometers) west of an abandoned rebel camp at La Penca.

It said that the group was taken into Costa Rica by the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, a rebel force led by Edén Pastora Gómez, a former Nicaraguan rebel leader and Sandinist government official.

A spokesman for the guerrilla group asserted Thursday in Costa Rica that the abduction was a "show" put on by the Nicaraguan government.

In San José, Costa Rica, a government spokesman, Armando Vargas, said Thursday that Costa Rican officials flying over the area saw the group's boat traveling in Nicaraguan waters. He said it appeared to be traveling peacefully and without escort.

The Witness for Peace activists are in Nicaragua to protest the Reagan administration's expressed support for the rebels and to campaign for peace between the United States and Nicaragua, the group's Washington office said.

## New Delhi Expands Its Nuclear Capability

The Associated Press

NEW DELHI — A large, new nuclear reactor, reportedly capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium, began operating Thursday in India, authorities announced.

The 100-megawatt reactor, named Dhruva, is the largest research reactor in the country, officials said.

Because it was designed and built by Indian engineers and uses no foreign fuel, the reactor is not subject to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency or other international controls. The reactor is part of the Bhabha Atomic Research Center outside Bombay.

Previously, plutonium produced by India relied heavily on technology from other nations, which included restrictions on its use and requirements for inspection.

Raja Ramanna, head of India's atomic program, in ceremonies marking the opening of the plant, did not directly mention the weapons-grade plutonium that Dhruva reportedly will produce. He emphasized instead its importance as a research tool in the fields of medicine, agriculture and industry.

A spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna declined comment Thursday on whether the Indian facility could be used to produce weapons-grade plutonium. Other sources in Vienna said, however, that it was clear the new reactor was capable of producing the plutonium needed for nuclear weapons.

India sharply criticized what it described as plans by neighboring Pakistan to build an offensive nuclear capability. Pakistan, which fought a war with India in 1971, consistently denied such suggestions.

But the Indian government told its Parliament on Thursday that it was keeping its "nuclear options open" and that it would "respond suitably" if Pakistan manufactured atomic weapons.

"We know what we have to do, and what action we have to take," said Khurshid Alam Khan, the minister of state for external affairs, in an address to the lower house of India's parliament. "There will be no complacency," he said.

## 2 Americans Die in Blast

(Continued from Page 1)

bombing of the U.S. Air Force's European headquarters at Ramstein, near Kaiserslautern in southwestern West Germany. Twenty persons were injured.

That year, members of the group also were believed responsible in an attempt on the life of General Frederick J. Kroesen, the commander of the U.S. Army in Europe. A rifle-launched grenade was fired at his car in Heidelberg, but he was unhurt.

In December 1984 and January 1985, the Red Army Faction was blamed for more than 30 bomb and arson attacks on NATO facilities and government buildings.

The last slaying claimed by the Red Army Faction and confirmed by the federal authorities occurred Feb. 1, when terrorists shot and killed Ernst Ziemermann, the chief executive officer of Motoren und Turbinen-Union GmbH, West Germany's biggest maker of military aircraft engines.

On June 19, a bomb in a busy passenger terminal at Frankfurt Airport, which adjoins Rhein-Main, killed three persons and injured 42. Claiming to represent the Red Army Faction and a previously unknown Arab revolutionary group, among others, claimed responsibility.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### BBC to Air Re-edited Documentary

LONDON (WP) — The editorial chief of the British Broadcasting Corp. told the BBC staff on Thursday that he will broadcast a banned documentary on Northern Ireland, but said it would be in amended form and would not be aired before the end of the year.

Alasdair Milne, the BBC director general, assured his staff that the corporation would continue to make programs about Northern Ireland. Mr. Milne made his comments as Britain's broadcast journalists returned to work after a 24-hour strike to protest government pressure, and the acquiescence of the corporation's board of directors, to cancel a documentary that included an interview with an alleged member of the outlawed Irish Republican Army.

The changes to the program that Mr. Milne has ordered include the addition of scenes of IRA bombings and murders to supplement the verbal descriptions of such acts given in the program.

### Nixon Has Skin Cancer Removed

NEW YORK (NYT) — Richard M. Nixon underwent minor surgery last week to remove a cancerous tumor from the skin behind his left ear, according to his doctor.

Dr. Philip G. Prioleau, who performed the surgery last Thursday, said that the former U.S. president's tumor was similar to but much further advanced than one removed from President Ronald Reagan's nose last week.

Dr. Prioleau said that the cancer, a basal cell carcinoma, was about one inch long and was removed in a four-hour procedure at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. He said that the tumor was a common kind of skin cancer that rarely spreads to other organs. Its chances of recurring were small, he said. Dr. Prioleau said he grafted a piece of skin from Mr. Nixon's left shoulder over the wound.

### Soviet Jewish Emigration Rose in July

GENEVA (UPI) — The Soviet Union allowed 174 Jews to emigrate in July, the highest monthly total in 31 months, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration said Thursday.

July arrivals at the committee's reception center in Vienna brought the total this year to 675. There were 37 arrivals in June, the second-lowest figure since the resettlement program began in 1971.

Most of the Soviet Jews who arrive in Vienna travel directly on to Israel. Others go to Rome to be processed for settlement in other countries, mainly the United States.

### New Office to Direct Philippine Police

MANILA (Reuters) — President Ferdinand E. Marcos, who faces local elections next year and a presidential election by 1987, said Thursday that he was creating an office in the presidential palace to supervise the Philippine police force.

Opposition sources said the move would give Mr. Marcos direct control over the police. Mr. Marcos said he was trying to make the force more effective in fighting insurgents.

He said that the new office would supervise the administrative National Police Commission and the 51,000-member Integrated National Police, previously under the Defense Ministry. Mr. Marcos did not say who would head the office.

### Seoul Arrests Rights Campaigner

SEOUL (Reuters) — A leading South Korean human rights campaigner, the Reverend Moon Ik Hwan, was placed under house arrest Thursday for denouncing a proposed law aimed at curbing campus protests.

Mr. Moon, who staged a 19-day hunger strike in 1983, said that about a dozen policemen surrounded his house and ordered him not to leave for three days, forcing him to miss a seminar with a Christian student group on Saturday.

The house arrest followed police confiscation of a statement by Mr. Moon's United People's Movement for Democracy and Unification against the proposed law, which would allow a prison term of as long as seven years for inciting students to perform anti-state activities.

### Reagan Signs \$25-Billion Aid Bill

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Ronald Reagan signed a \$25.4-billion foreign aid bill Thursday, saying he was "particularly pleased" it provided for the resumption of U.S. aid to the rebels in Nicaragua.

But Mr. Reagan also criticized the measure — the first such legislation passed by Congress in four years — as offering "substantial reductions" in military assistance, a development he termed "disappointing."

The bill authorizes \$12.7 billion in foreign aid for each of the next two years, awarding the largest amounts to Israel and Egypt. The bill provides spending authority of \$3 billion for Israel for each of the two years, plus a one-time infusion of \$1.5 billion in emergency economic aid. Egypt will get \$2.1 billion for each year plus \$500 million in emergency economic aid.

As approved by Congress late last month, the measure froze foreign aid at the levels approved for fiscal 1985, which ends Sept. 30. The administration had asked for \$13.2 billion for each of the two years.

### For the Record

Two members of the ruling Congress (I) Party were killed and nine were injured in West Bengal in an attack mounted by supporters of the Communist Party of India-Marxist, the Press Trust of India reported Thursday.

A train was derailed in Mozambique's northern Nampula province, killing 58 persons and injuring 160 on Saturday, the official news agency, AIMP, reported Thursday.

A Soviet diplomat disappeared last week during a visit to Rome, the Soviet Embassy announced. It said that Vitaly Yurchenko, 50, who is based at the Foreign Ministry in Moscow, was last seen Aug. 1. (Reuters)

Kenneth P. Fells, a former stockbroker, was fined \$25,000 in New York and sentenced to six months in prison for his role in a scheme that used advance information from a reporter for The Wall Street Journal, R. Foster Winans, to profit from stock trading. (AP)

## Managua Rebels Got Advice From U.S. Security Aides

(Continued from Page 1)

White House has assured Mr. McCurdy and others that neither CIA nor Defense Department officials will be included. The legislation authorizing the new aid forbids their direct involvement.

Before Congress approved renewed aid, the administration was forbidden to assist the rebels directly and, as a result, the White House encouraged private donors in the United States and abroad to give money. An official said that the rebels got \$20 million in the last year.

Another official, who has talked with the officer, said he had played an indirect role in the fund raising. The officer would not agree to an interview. But another senior NSC official said in a recent interview that the council took a leading role last year in directing the administration's Nicaragua policy because of quarreling at the State Department. However, the official did not acknowledge that the office had been directing the rebel forces.

Often in past administrations, covert actions like the aid to the Nicaraguan rebels have been isolated from the White House, giving the president and his staff what came to be known as "plausible deniability." But the NSC is an Executive Branch agency.

A former senior official, who has extensive experience in intelligence

matters, said the NSC program had not been operated under the specific rules and procedures of the presidential executive order that covers covert intelligence operations. "They found a way around it," he said.

Officials said that the NSC officer often meets with Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the largest rebel group, and with Arturo José Cruz, another opposition leader.

A Nicaraguan exile leader with close ties to the rebels said that the officer was "a very important man" in the continuing efforts to reorganize and better coordinate the operations of the two main rebel groups, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force in Honduras and the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance in Costa Rica.

Now that Congress has approved renewed aid to the rebels and the operation is to be moved to a new State Department agency, a senior official said that the administration hoped to build the rebel armies from their present combined strength of about 20,000 to 35,000 in the next six months.

The aim, he said, is to move from the guerrilla warfare stage of the last several years to frontal attacks. A rebel force seized and briefly held a small town in north-central Nicaragua late last month.



Yasser Arafat, the PLO chief, chats at the summit meeting.

## Arabs Say PLO Drops Call For Support on Jordan Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

gloss over their differences when the draft a communiqué on the conference.

Hussein Said to Hold Firm  
John C. Whitehead, the deputy U.S. secretary of state, has told Israeli leaders that King Hussein of Jordan refused to reconsider a list of Palestinian candidates for talks with U.S. officials. The Associated Press reported Thursday from Tel Aviv.

Mr. Whitehead, who briefed Israeli officials Wednesday on recent talks in Egypt and Jordan, said that Washington was "disappointed," the sources said, because some of the candidates were active mem-

bers of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A Western diplomat said that King Hussein told Mr. Whitehead that if U.S. officials were to meet with the joint delegation it could lead to further developments in the peace process and a change in the outlook of Mr. Arafat, who is presumed to have approved the list of Palestinian names.

The diplomat said that the United States would not decide whether to go ahead with the preliminary talks with the mixed Jordanian-Palestinian delegation until after the Casablanca meeting.

## Swedes Move to Improve Soviet Ties

United Press International

STOCKHOLM — Sweden has announced that it plans to improve relations with the Soviet Union, after several years of strain caused by intrusions of Soviet submarines into Sweden's coastal waters.

Only hours after the announcement of steps for warmer relations, however, the Foreign Ministry filed a complaint Wednesday against the reported seizure by Soviet seamen of a merchant sailor attempting to escape to the West. The seaman was said to have jumped into the Baltic while in Swedish territorial waters.

The announcement of steps for improved relations was made by Pierre Schori, undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, after two days of talks with a visiting Soviet first deputy foreign minister, Viktor F. Mal'tsev.

"We have taken the temperature on our relations and it was not good," Mr. Schori said. "We shall now intensify the contacts in order to strengthen bilateral relations and defend our national interests."

Mr. Mal'tsev was the highest Soviet official to visit Sweden for talks since a Soviet submarine went aground off the Karlskrona naval base in October 1981.

That incident, and later suspected intrusions, strained ties between Stockholm and Moscow.

Mr. Schori warned that an improvement in relations did not mean Sweden would no longer continue to monitor Soviet submarine activity near its waters.

"We remain on the alert," he said. "We have not decreased our ability to hunt foreign submarines."

Mr. Schori said that Prime Minister Olof Palme and Foreign Minister Lennart Bodström had tentatively accepted invitations to visit Moscow, dependent upon the outcome of September elections.

In the complaint filed with Moscow on Wednesday, about the at-

## Moslem Aims Supported

(Continued from Page 1)

League summit conference now under way in Casablanca.

"No one has offered the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people as much as we have offered," he said. "But unfortunately, what we harvest was the divisions in our nation and attempts to destroy the infrastructure of our government."

Relief Worker Freed  
Gunmen kidnapped a Canadian relief worker in southern Lebanon on Thursday, but both his organization and the Canadian government said he was freed later in the day. The Associated Press reported.

The police said that Robert P. Burkholder, 30, of East York Township, Ontario, was seized in the Shiite Moslem town of Nabatiyah by unidentified men with guns who bundled him into a car. He works as an administrator for the South Lebanon Project of the Mennonite Central Committee.

Earlier, the Lebanese manager of the ABC News bureau was freed unharmed by abductors. Shakhil Elmehdani, 50, walked into the Commodore Hotel in West Beirut on Thursday morning.

Meanwhile, Israeli warplanes were reported to have attacked a Bekaa Valley guerrilla base of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

## Hong Kong Sets Rules For Money Changers

Reuters

HONG KONG — Hong Kong came to the aid of millions of tourists Thursday when the government imposed tough new rules on money changers, in response to complaints over rates offered outside of banks.

It warned the changers that they faced heavy fines or jail terms of as long as six months unless customers sign a form agreeing to the terms of any transaction.

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# Summer 1945: Japan, Beaten but Intransigent, Prepares to Repel a U.S. Attack

By Richard Halloran  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In the summer of 1945, as U.S. military forces prepared to invade Japan, a Japanese high school girl named Yukiko Kasai was given a carpenter's awl and told to be prepared to use it as a weapon.

"Even killing just one American will do," she was told. "You must prepare this awl for self defense. You must aim at the enemy's abdomen. Understand? The abdomen."

At about the same time, a kamikaze pilot, Jun Nomoto, sat in the cockpit of his fighter plane waiting to take off and asked a friend to write down his last letter to his parents:

"I will do my duty calmly. Words cannot express my gratitude to you. It is my hope that this act of striking a blow at the enemy will serve to repay you in small measure for the wonderful things you have done for me."

By that time in World War II, Japan was beaten but would not quit. American B-29 bombers had burned Japanese cities into a wasteland. American submarines had sunk 9.5 million of Japan's 10 million tons of warships, merchantmen and tankers. War production had plummeted. Living conditions were miserable, with an entire nation slowly starving.

Not far away, U.S. Marines had taken two Jima, the island that was administratively part of metropolitan Tokyo, and American soldiers and marines had overrun Okinawa, Japan's southernmost prefecture. An invasion of the main islands was imminent.

Japan thus prepared for a final battle with one of two likely outcomes. One would be that the United States would be lured into an invasion so costly that it would have to negotiate, allowing Japan to retain its sovereignty and emperor.

The other conclusion was what the Japanese called *gyokusai*, "the shattering of jade." Every man, woman, and child would be mobilized and final hope would be placed in the kamikaze, "the wind of the gods." If that did not save the nation, Japan would perish.

For more than a year, the Tokyo government had quietly sought peace. But Japan's leaders had misjudged the military power arrayed against them and, blinkered by their insular politics, failed to grasp how to deal with the Western democracies.

In addition, the Allied policy of unconditional surrender stiffened Japanese resistance. It was an ill-defined demand, and uncertainty about the future dissuaded Japan from considering it. Perhaps more important, four years of deadly enmity gave the Japanese no reason to believe the Americans would be lenient in victory.

In January 1945, as the Americans started bombing in earnest, Tokyo drafted plans to repel an invasion. In February, the country was divided into six military districts to exercise control over the garrison of six million soldiers in Japan.

As that plan took shape, Lieutenant General Shuichi Miyazaki, a senior operations officer, told other generals:

"By pouring 20 divisions into the battle within two weeks of the enemy's landing, we will annihilate him entirely and ensure a Japanese victory."

Later, that was refined into a plan calling for Japanese defenders to destroy a quarter of the invading force while at sea, another quarter on the landing beaches, and the rest with human wave tactics as the Americans fought their way inland.

After the firebombing of Tokyo that took 100,000 lives

In the spring and summer of 1945, about 5,000 Japanese pilots died in suicide attacks.

In March, the government closed most schools and mobilized all but the youngest pupils to grow food, produce munitions, become air raid wardens and prepare to repel the expected invaders.

Next came the People's Volunteer Army, in which men and women aged 13 to 60, except for the sick or pregnant, were to take up arms.

One student, Susumu Nagara, was in a squad of 20 people, all but himself more than 40 years old. They were armed with bamboo spears and had but one rifle among

them; it was rotated each day so each had a turn carrying it. Most did not know how to fire it.

The recruits were taught to hide in foxholes, armed with food and 35-pound (16-kilogram) bombs strapped to their backs. As American tanks appeared, they were to climb out and throw themselves under them.

While there was a widespread lack of enthusiasm for such measures, only a few openly protested the rush toward national suicide. The newspaper *Yomiuri*, which had supported the militarists for years, said in an editorial in July that Japan's leaders should be "realistic." It was a sharp word at the time.

The quintessence of Japanese determination to repel the Americans were the kamikaze pilots. The "wind of the gods" recalled the typhoons that drove off Mongol invaders in 1274 and 1281.

The kamikaze were generally pilots who flew suicide missions, but they included other warriors. The *oka jinrai*, or "cherry blossoms of heavenly thunder," were manned rockets strapped under bombers, then cut loose for the pilot to glide to the target. Few did real damage.

Similarly, old aircraft laden with bombs were hidden in mountains overlooking likely invasion routes. When the Americans attacked, they were to be manned, catapulted into the air and steered down into the warships and landing craft.

At sea, 6,000 small launches loaded with two tons of explosives were rigged with engines from cars and guided

by a sailor toward American ships. Manned torpedoes loaded with 3,000 pounds of explosive were fired from submarines. Neither type of weapon was effective.

In the spring and summer of 1945, about 5,000 pilots died in suicide attacks. They sank three small aircraft carriers, 13 destroyers and 18 smaller vessels. About 300 other American ships were hit but were soon back in action.

Most of the pilots were college students who had been drafted and then volunteered to become kamikaze, often signing their applications in blood.

In their last days, the pilots put their affairs in order, paying debts and giving personal belongings to friends. In the ancient tradition of Japanese warriors, they completed diaries, wrote last letters and composed poems that illuminated their motives.

Yasuhiko Shimomura left this poem:

*Saluting the mountains and rivers  
Of the land of my ancestors  
To which I shall never return,  
I turned my plane up.*

A young naval officer, shortly before he embarked in his human torpedo, told a new volunteer that he was certain Japan would lose the war, no matter what anyone did. The new man, stunned, blurted out: "Then why did you volunteer to die?"

The young naval officer's reply was calm: "A man must do what he can for his country."

## Documents in Spy Case Called a Sabotage 'Bible'

By Bob Secor  
Los Angeles Times Service

NORFOLK, Virginia — Documents that Arthur J. Walker is accused of helping pass to the Soviet Union are a "bible for sabotage" that could help attackers sink U.S. ships, high-level navy officials have testified in federal court here.

Captain Robert Johnson, chief staff officer for the navy's Norfolk-based amphibious squadron, said Wednesday during the third day of Mr. Walker's espionage trial that one of the documents, a damage control book, contained "very good information" that could be used to knock out the Navy's two most sophisticated communications vessels, the Mount Whitney and the Blue Ridge.

Those two ships double as the command posts for the U.S. fleets patrolling the Atlantic and Western Pacific, he said.

Captain Johnson said the so-called DC book, which outlines procedures for dealing with potential damage to ships in both peace and war, not only contained data on the fuel capacity and steaming range of the vessels, but also could provide clues as to the most effective weapons to use against the ships and "how many weapons you need to sink them."

Another government witness, Captain Edward D. Shearer, the senior intelligence officer for the Atlantic Command, said the book also divulged the structural and mechanical weak points where the ships are most vulnerable to attack. "The book is really a bible for sabotage," he said.

Mr. Walker, 50, is charged with stealing government secrets from a Norfolk area defense contractor for whom he worked as an engineer and passing the material to his brother, John A. Walker Jr., a retired U.S. Navy communications specialist, who is also accused of spying.

The government contends that John Walker, 47, led the spy ring that also included his 22-year-old

son, Michael, a yeoman on the aircraft carrier *Nimitz*, and a close friend, Jerry A. Whitworth of Davis, California, a retired navy radio man. The others are scheduled to go on trial later this year.

Although Arthur Walker confessed to the FBI and to a federal grand jury that John Walker gave him \$12,000 in exchange for navy documents, he pleaded not guilty.

In Wednesday's trial session, prosecutors presented testimony from the navy officers in response to defense attempts to minimize the value of the classified documents.

The government contends that Arthur Walker also took a sensitive report detailing a history of mechanical and technical problems affecting the navy's newest and most sophisticated amphibious helicopter assault ships.

Also testifying Wednesday were FBI agents who detailed the investigation that led to the May 20 arrest of John Walker and broke open the spy case.

One agent, Francis McKenzie Jr., said he was part of a large FBI team that trailed John Walker's van from the Norfolk area to Montgomery County, Maryland, where he was arrested.

Bruce K. Brahe, another agent, said he and two others were sent to search a wooded area where John Walker was believed to have stopped briefly shortly before. He said a shopping bag placed at the base of a telephone pole caught his attention because, unlike most litter, it was not soggy or full of insects. "Inside, he said, under some empty plastic alcohol containers, empty soda bottles, used cotton swabs and a container of hand lotion, was a container wrapped carefully in white plastic. It contained secret navy documents," he said.

Mr. Brahe said he and the others hid and waited. Over the next two hours, Mr. Brahe said, John Walker drove by three times, twice getting out of the van to inspect the pole in an apparent effort to ascertain whether the bag had been retrieved.

But the treaty allows the transit of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships through the region, and would leave port visits by such ships to the discretion of individual countries. This provision would protect, and possibly even enhance, U.S. security interests because it guarantees the maintenance of important international legal safeguards on transit, according to diplomats from the region.

These diplomats emphasized that the pact would not interfere with the security requirements of the ANZUS alliance that links Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

U.S. Panel Says Ruling on Media 'Coerces Speech'

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Federal Communications Commission has said that the Fairness Doctrine no longer serves the public interest. It added, however, that it would continue to enforce the rule, which requires broadcasters to cover major community issues and present balanced reporting and differing views where there is controversy.

The regulatory panel labeled the policy constitutionally "suspect" on Wednesday, adding that it chills and coerces speech and inhibits coverage of major issues.

The unanimous position of the five-member panel, following two days of public hearings last spring, is certain to heighten debate in Congress over the merits of retaining the rule, and could figure in future court tests of the policy, according to commission staff officials.

The Fairness Doctrine has evolved over 50 years from a blend of regulatory decisions and statutory policy. Its roots are in the early days of radio, when the government was seeking to assure that listeners would not be subjected to only one side of a political campaign. It was recognized formally in federal law in 1959 with the "equal time" provision, and the doctrine was written in response to the congressional act.

The commission said the constitutionality of the doctrine was questionable because more stations are broadcasting now than in 1959, when the Supreme Court upheld it in a landmark case known,

as *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*, 395 U.S. 367 (1969).

But the FCC said it had been targeting the Pittsburgh area because of more than 65 recent burglaries in which rare coins, antiques and other exotic items were taken.

The arrest was the result of a chain of events that began before dawn Wednesday when two Greensburg officers, responding to a complaint, found an illegally parked BMW sedan in front of an apartment building and discovered that its license plates had been reported stolen from Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

The policemen learned from other building tenants that the car belonged to a man they knew as Robert Wilson, who was arrested without resistance.

Police said a search of the car

Mubarak to Visit New York

The Associated Press

CAIRO — President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt will visit New York this fall to attend celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, Egyptian Ambassador to the UN, Ahmed Tewfik Khalil, said here Thursday.



Prime Minister Bob Hawke of Australia signing the treaty to make the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. From left: Crown Prince Tupouto'a of Tonga and Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana of Western Samoa. An unidentified aide holds the document.

## Pacific Nations Sign Nuclear-Free Pact

By Lena H. Sun  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Leaders of eight South Pacific countries, including New Zealand and Australia, have signed a treaty to make the region a nuclear-free zone and have asked the five nuclear powers to agree to ban the use or threat of nuclear weapons and the testing of nuclear explosive devices there.

The treaty, signed Tuesday in Rarotonga in the Cook Islands, would ban the manufacture, acquisition or receipt of nuclear explosives. It would also prohibit testing, stationing of nuclear weapons and export of nuclear material without strict safeguards.

But the treaty allows the transit of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships through the region, and would leave port visits by such ships to the discretion of individual countries. This provision would protect, and possibly even enhance, U.S. security interests because it guarantees the maintenance of important international legal safeguards on transit, according to diplomats from the region.

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## The U.S. Dilemma: Ending the War

Troops Were Deterred by Prospect of a Bloody Invasion

By Charles Mohr  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — By the summer of 1945 the United States had strategically won the war with Japan. But America faced a certain and severe clawing if it finished its enemy at close quarters.

The United States had achieved total victory on the outlying island of Okinawa from April 1 to June 21. But the historian Ronald Spector says that Okinawa had the curious effect of encouraging the Japanese and discouraging the Americans, who looked to an invasion of the Japanese main islands with "anxiety and dread."

An American force of 650,000 men, more than 4,000 planes and a naval armada were being assembled to invade the southern Japanese island of Kyushu on Nov. 1, after the typhoons of autumn subsided. The largest island, Honshu, was to be hit in March 1946.

The landings were expected to initiate one of the greatest land battles in history, an amplification of previous Pacific campaigns that had claimed the lives of 105,563 Americans and more than 300,000 Japanese fighting men, and great numbers of Japanese civilians.

About 100,000 civilians had died on Okinawa alone. At Saipan, one of the few Pacific garrisons with sizable numbers of civilians, American troops watched with awe and sorrow as mothers cast their babies into the sea from cliffs and then leapt to their own deaths.

American troops who were poised to do the fighting in Japan viewed the enterprise with a mixture of resignation, distaste and, their generals worried, some resentment. There also was concern that many American troops scheduled for reassignment from Europe, where victory had been achieved on May 8, would feel they were being asked for unreasonable sacrifice.

Although plans for the Joint Chiefs of Staff were estimating 40,000 dead and 150,000 wounded for the decisive part of the campaign, they warned that the casualties for the whole operation "are not subject to accurate estimate."

A former U.S. Marine Corps commandant, General Lemuel C. Shepherd Jr., commanded the 6th Marine Division, one of three marine and 11 army divisions assigned to invade Kyushu and later Honshu.

A few days after Japan capitulated as a result of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, General Shepherd toured the invasion beaches near Tokyo Bay with a Japanese Navy commander. The commander showed the American the deeply dug-in, eight-inch guns commanding the area and said with quiet pride: "We would have hit every ship that tried to enter the bay."

"Yes, I think you would," the general recalls saying. "That there ultimately was no invasion 'saved my pants,' General Shepherd said. 'Thousands of troops would have been lost.'"

The demonstrators, including *hibakusha*, the Japanese term for survivors of the bombing, chanted, "No more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis, no more hibakusha," as they paraded through the second city hit by a U.S. atomic bomb.

The Nagasaki commemorative ceremonies were scheduled to begin at mid-morning Friday at the city's peace park. Officials anticipated a crowd of 25,000. More than 55,000 people attended the ceremonies Tuesday in Hiroshima marking the first use of the atomic bomb, on Aug. 6, 1945.

It was not until the recent return to political power of Labor Party governments in New Zealand and Australia, however, that the concept gained momentum, according to diplomats from the region.

The five countries that will be asked to sign protocols are the United States, France, Britain, China and the Soviet Union.

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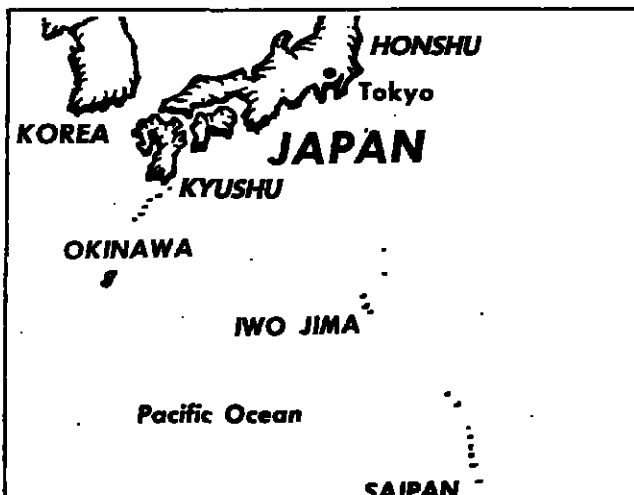
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The Associated Press

Politicians were as concerned as military officers about casualties. President Harry S. Truman said at a planning session that he hoped the United States could prevent "plaster" everywhere that moved.

But a quantum advance in firepower — the atomic bomb — was to surprise the fighting men on both sides.

Admiral William D. Leahy, Truman's chief of staff, said later that he regretted that his country had used "this barbarous weapon."

Even General Curtis E. LeMay, who was then in the business of delivering conventional weapons such as ordinary bombs and incendiaries, argued that such bombing alone could have won the war.

Most of the navy's top officers believed that a continued blockade would win the war and some officials thought the impending entry by the Soviet Union into the Pacific war might force a surrender.

World War II Weapons Salvaged Off Sardinia

The Associated Press

ALGHERO, Sardinia — Police frogmen searching for explosives planted by fishermen have found 350 World War II ammunition cases, containing more than a million rounds, off the coast of Sardinia.

The police said that the cases, found Wednesday at a depth of 95 feet (30 meters), contained ammunition for rifles and automatic weapons. The boxes are believed to have been dumped by Italian soldiers near the end of World War II.

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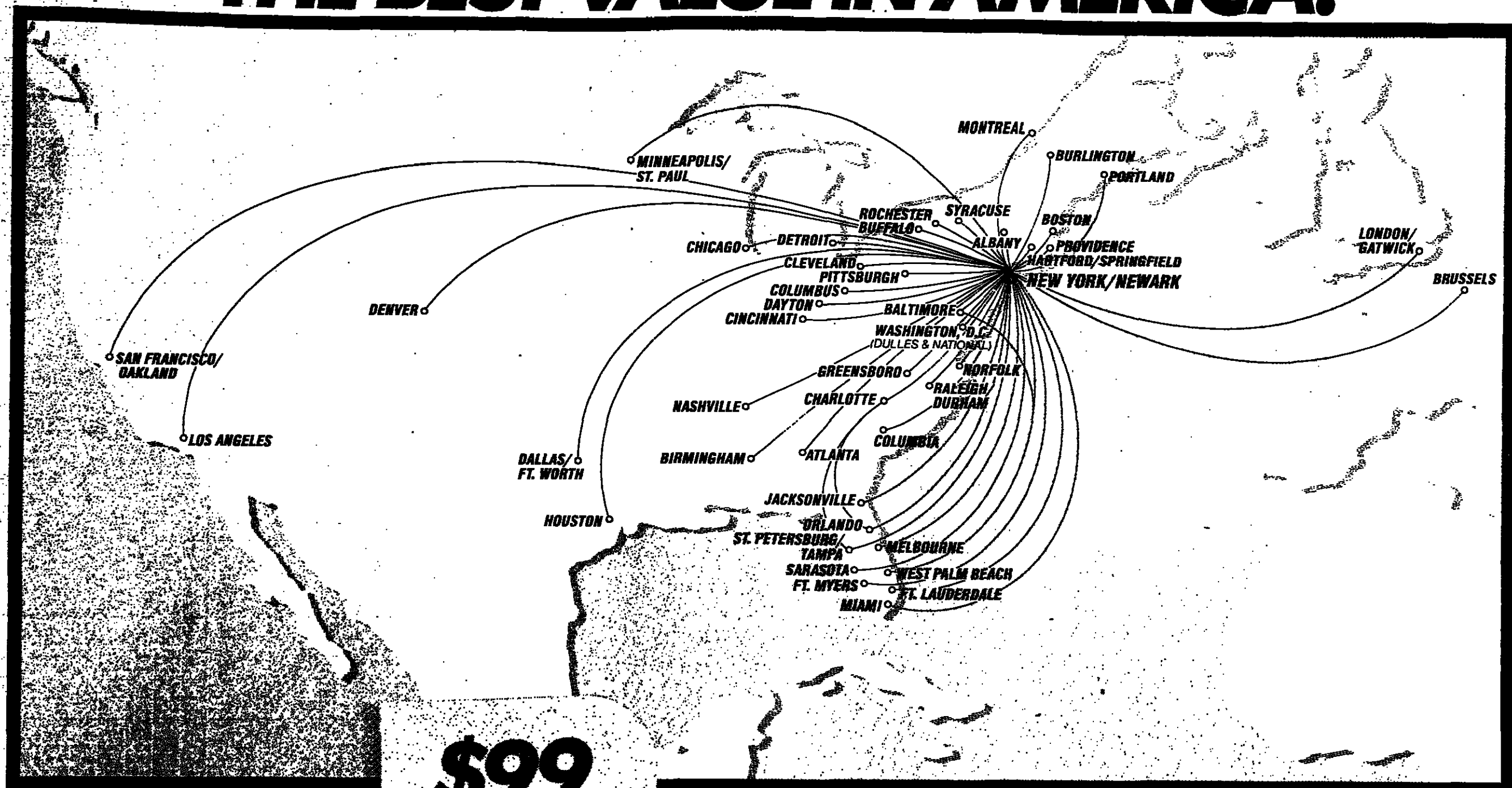
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# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Out of the Marcos Trap

It is rare for the staid American Bar Association to exhortate friendly foreign countries for human rights abuses. It has now done so in the scandalous instance of the Philippines, where lawyers who defend victims in political cases are mysteriously killed. At least three have been murdered and five arrested, one on the peculiar charge of "human rights lawyering." As the rule of law totters in the Philippines, a Communist guerrilla movement grows, its chief asset being the rickety and corrupt regime of President Ferdinand Marcos. Mr. Marcos can shrug off the ABA protest and others like it for two bad reasons. The United States can do something about one of them.

His own democratic opponents are so divided that he has threatened them with an instant presidential election to prolong his 20-year rule. His other card is America's reliance on Clark Air Base and the naval base at Subic Bay. He used it again to fend off a prudent move in Congress to put more distance between Washington and the Marcos dynasty.

The House voted to cut \$75 million from a Reagan administration request for \$100 million in military aid, while increasing economic aid from \$95 million to \$155 million — with the requirement that a fourth of food aid be channeled through private groups. Manila instantly threatened to abrogate the bases agreement, arguing that the \$100-million military aid figure constituted "rent," which it does not.

The five-year bases agreement calls for a total of \$900 million in military and economic aid, to be apportioned by Congress.

Rather than call Mr. Marcos's bluff, House conferees yielded to Senate wishes, raising military aid to \$70 million and agreeing to recommend, rather than require, that food aid be distributed by private groups. The problem of diversion of food aid should be taken seriously by the administration. There have been damaging charges of extensive overseas investments by senior Marcos officials.

A second wise step would be to begin an energetic search for alternate sites — Guam, Australia and Saipan among them — for the U.S. naval and air bases in the Philippines. As long as Mr. Marcos believes that Americans will swallow anything to keep those bases, he can disregard America's worried attempts to press for constitutional change.

Nor is military aid the first requirement in containing the insurgent challenge of the New People's Army. Its guns have come from the government's demoralized and sometimes brutal army, and its most potent slogan is opposition to the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Most Filipinos reject that linkage, and are still bound to the United States by language, culture and political tradition. To maintain them, the United States needs ways to escape a desperate dictator's embrace.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## A Slim Chance to Seize

In this space last Friday we talked about missed opportunities, the kind for which there is going to be much regret and nostalgia a short time hence when people realize that those opportunities are no more. The subject that day was reducing the budget deficit. The subject today is South Africa. But the underlying principle is the same. There is a slim, remote chance to try to reach a peaceable and just resolution — but it is being kicked away.

We thought of it the moment we saw the picture and read the account of that brave man, Bishop Tutu, coming between the South African police and black mourners to prevent a bloody confrontation the other day. "Please allow us to bury our dead with dignity," he said. "Please do not rub our noses in the dust. We are already hurt; we are already down. Don't trample on us. We are human beings; we are not animals. And when we have a death, we cry like you cry." If things proceed as they have been proceeding and if the government continues its cruel and senseless policies, there will come a day when it will surely wish that it had only to yield such things as Bishop Tutu has been asking — political freedom, dignity and decency — and that there were such people as Bishop Tutu with whom to negotiate.

The fact is that over the years Pretoria has obdurately and suicidally refused to recognize or credit legitimate, peaceful civil protest on the part of nonviolent blacks. It met such protests with violence, repression, gunfire and lockups. It has done everything it could think of to weaken the hand and undermine the leadership of those whom it should devoutly wish to be the leaders of the restless, growing black resistance to apartheid. Most recently President Botha declined a meeting with Bishop Tutu. The moderate leaders of Desmond Tutu's generation are being defied and often ridiculed by their own young for the scant results, as the younger ones see it, of their moderation and insistence on nonviolence. The trend in that unhappy land is such that you must believe that in a short time white South Africa will look back with real regret on these lost days and vanished opportunities.

In America we have reached a policy stalemate. Within the president's own party there is some objection to moving toward a stronger condemnation of apartheid in general and of the South African government's misguided new wave of repression in particular. Outside his administration, on the left and to a considerable extent in the center as well, there is increasing dissatisfaction with the so-called "constructive engagement" policy of the past several years, a belief that it has yielded little. Congress, before it left town, sent the president a bill that would impose relatively modest sanctions against South Africa. Mr. Reagan has spoken of vetoing it, but he is leaving the matter open for discussion.

We have never favored the disinvestment program that many have advocated over the years, believing that it would hurt its intended beneficiaries, South Africa's blacks. The current legislation seems to us to contain much milder and more reasonable measures than what was once in the works. It also seems to us that, despite all the argument that has been going on, there is a fairly broad general consensus available on the kind of pressures that should be applied to hasten the end of racial repression in South Africa, and that this consensus extends from within the Reagan administration to many of the critics on the outside. There is common ground there that could be seized upon, so that a single, strong American policy could be fashioned.

Nothing is more important at this time. America must not, at so critical a moment, descend into an internal political squabble over what it should be doing. The American opportunity is now, and it may not come again. The country must speak with conviction and a clear voice and use its influence to press the South African government away from a mad and morally squalid course. It is possible for the administration and Congress to agree; they are not that far apart. Bishop Tutu speaks and acts for those who do not wish violence, but who insist on freedom and decency. That is what the United States should be for.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Opinion

### To Many, Helsinki Means Hope

In their 10 years, the Helsinki accords have provided a rallying point for people struggling for freedom and peace. They have done so by encouraging private citizens in all European countries to "know and act upon their rights" by monitoring their governments' behavior.

True, many who took up this challenge soon became victims themselves. Yet courageous individuals continue to speak out, bearing witness to the sufferings of others. I have seen the Helsinki spirit at work in meetings in Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest, Belgrade and Istanbul. Voices may lower, but eyes light up when the word "Helsinki" is mentioned. To these people, Helsinki means hope.

If the United States were to pull out of the Helsinki process, it would be abandoning these people and others like them who put their faith in the accords, sacrificing their freedom and sometimes their lives. It would be squandering the moral force the Helsinki accords have acquired as a result of those sacrifices. For the Russians, the withdrawal would be an ideological victory.

— Jeri Laber, executive director of Helsinki Watch, a New York-based human rights group, writing in *The New York Times*.

Notwithstanding the Helsinki Final Declaration, and despite the recently arranged East-West summit, Europe remains divided and nothing will change this so long as Moscow denies freedom to its subject-nations. The West has no alternative but to maintain adequate defensive deterrence to the totalitarian threat, while preserving its own freedom as an attractive and potentially infectious alternative. Within this scenario, the "Helsinki process" can perform a limited function, and may even exert a degree of civilizing influence.

— *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich).

## FROM OUR AUG. 9 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1910: Why Shouldn't Turkey Arm?

PARIS — [Today's editorial says:] "Diplomatic and naval circles have been following the negotiations that have ended in the sale of German warships to Turkey. Why should Turkey be forbidden to build up a naval force? Is she not following the example of the most civilized nations? For decades the English press and English demagogues have been preaching the necessity of reform to Turkey. Now that she is beginning to reform, do they realize that they have made a mistake? Turkey under the old regime was a menace to no power. But a reformed Turkey, with a well-organized army and an efficient navy, and a population animated by a newly awakened sentiment of national pride, may cause England to regret the old state of affairs."

### 1935: French Workers Fight Deceases

PARIS — Strikes and demonstrations against government wage-cutting decrees brought outbreaks of increased violence in two naval bases in France (on Aug. 8), while the walkout at Le Havre continued to hold liners at their piers. At least two persons were killed in Toulon in a clash between arsenal workers and police. At least 80 were injured. Brest, after a day of calm, saw fresh demonstrations which resulted in several being injured when Mobile Guards sought to disperse a large mob. Meanwhile, the second batch in the series of decrees by which the French government hopes to eliminate the budget deficit, reduce the cost of living and unemployment, lower interest rates and stimulate business generally were approved and signed by President Albert Lebrun.

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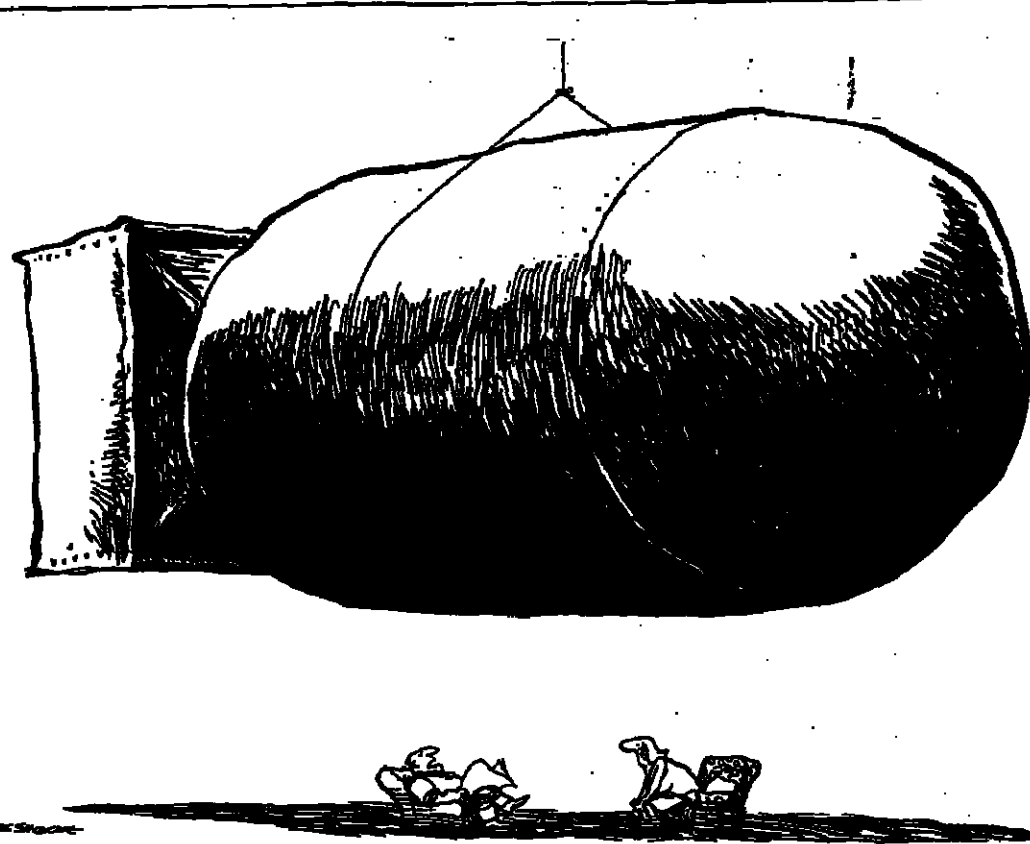
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Actually, after forty years, I rarely give it a thought . . .

## Realistically: The Way to Stop Is to Stop

By Anthony Lewis

HIROSHIMA — When I found my mother, her whole body was burned. I couldn't tell where her eyes were, her nose, her ears. But even though she was dying, she was happy to know I was there. And I was lucky to see her before she died.

— Mrs. Masako Hirooka, 71, resident of the Atomic Bomb Survivors' Nursing Home.

Since the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs in 1945, the United States has manufactured 60,000 nuclear warheads of 71 different types, for use in 116 weapons systems. The cost so far has been \$750 billion. So far . . .

America is now spending more to make nuclear warheads than it did on the Manhattan Project, the emergency atomic effort of World War II. That cost a little over \$16 billion in terms of current dollars. The MX missile will cost over \$30 billion before it is done, the Trident B, or Poseidon, will cost \$1.5 billion each, and its missiles as much as \$100 billion.

Those figures come from an article in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists by Robert S. Norris, Thomas B. Cochran and William M. Arkin. It tells us in unemotional prose that eight types of U.S. nuclear warheads are in production, with a total of 30 types in the stockpile. The stockpile contains 25,500 warheads.

That is the American side. The Russians have almost as many warheads. The roughly 50,000 nuclear warheads now on Earth carry an explosive force more than one million times the power of the bomb that devastated Hiroshima. It is enough to destroy the world many times over.

We have become numb, most of us, to the figures on weapons, megatonnage, overkill. They are enormous abstractions, beyond our imagination, beyond our control. In our numbness, we leave the problem to the politicians — and they say we must have more, newer, better weapons.

In Hiroshima the abstractions are reduced to human scale again. There are no words to express what happened here; the survivors themselves say they cannot convey what they experienced. But their understated accounts tell enough. One thinks not of megatons or counterforce or war games but of human beings.

People prefer to express their grief privately here, visiting the Peace Park at dawn with flowers or incense. But they feel they must use the experience of Hiroshima to work for world peace. On this 40th anniversary of the bomb they invited mayors from around the world to campaign for nuclear disarmament. A declaration read at the commemorative ceremony on Tuesday called on the United States and the Soviet Union to stop nuclear tests.

In the realpolitik of Washington, the meetings and resolutions of Hiroshima may have seemed hopelessly naive. But who are the realists in fact? Consider the nuclear test issue. In brushing aside the Soviet proposal for a test moratorium, President Reagan said the United States would

consider a ban on tests after "two catch up." That notion is just what has produced 40 years of pointless escalation. Fear that the other side is gaining an edge in overkill has fueled a race for new weapons that make us all less secure, not more. The only way to stop the race is to stop.

The Reagan policy-makers do not want to stop. That is made clear in a letter from Frank J. Gaffney Jr., deputy to Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, the architect of U.S. arms control policy. Mr. Gaffney was answering a letter to President Reagan from Admiral Gene R. La Rocque, retired, of the Center for Defense Information, urging a moratorium. "Testing is indispensable to nuclear weapon development," Mr. Gaffney wrote. "So long as we are obliged to rely on retaliatory nuclear capabilities to safeguard deterrence, nuclear testing and a strong deterrent posture will remain inseparable."

In other words, America must go on forever developing new weapons of mass destruction. That is so even though it already has 50 times the number it needs to create an overwhelming fear of retaliation — enough, indeed, to destroy us all.

Professor Victor Weisskopf of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the Manhattan Project physicists, had it exactly right when he said: "Future generations, if there are any, will regard [the arms race] as a virulent case of collective mental disease."

The realists are in Hiroshima.

The New York Times.

## Restraining the President: State Has to Be Cautious

By Raymond Price

The writer, now a syndicated columnist, served on the Nixon White House staff.

WASHINGTON — Presidents always grow frustrated with State Department bureaucracy, and their most ideological supporters find that same bureaucracy even more frustrating than presidents do.

The ideological right is now waging a concerted attack on Secretary of State George Shultz. He is an improbable conservative villain, but the right's attack is not surprising. Nor is the central indictment: that he has become a captive of State Department bureaucracy and thus the key figure thwarting a conservative president's foreign policy objectives.

Conservatives inherently distrust the career Foreign Service because of their perception — often correct — that it attracts and promotes a disproportionately high ratio of political liberals. But conservative presidents are not alone in their frustration with the Foreign Service. One of the recent presidents most vocal in his disdain for its timidity was John F. Kennedy. The basic conflict here is not ideological but institutional.

Professional bureaucracies exist in

part for the purpose of frustrating presidents. They are an essential part of the president's fail-safe system. Presidents always want Bold New Initiatives. Their more zealous ideological supporters want Bolder New Initiatives. One function of the professional bureaucracy is to tell them why they often cannot have them.

Of every 100 new ideas, one may, with luck, be a good idea. Presidents have a somewhat higher batting average, but they don't bat a thousand. And their zealous supporters have even lower batting averages.

Anyone who has worked closely with a president knows that the ideas that come from the Oval Office need to be critically examined. Those ideas that do not measure up need to be shot down. A rigorous process of examination is necessary not only to weed out bad ideas and strengthen good ones, but also to keep the president free to put forward more new

ideas without fear that half-baked ones will be acted on. The better this fail-safe system works, the more creative a president can afford to be, and the greater are his chances of success.

Whatever their philosophical orientation, presidents are pragmatists. They have to be. The job imposes a severe, result-oriented discipline. Theorists deal in the abstract, but presidents deal with the concrete. Their acts are measured not by intention but by consequence. And in the real world, actual consequences seldom follow theoretical patterns.

American conservatives can be divided into two categories: the ideological conservatives, whose touchstone is how well a policy agrees with his own theoretical construct, and the procedural conservatives — in today's jargon, the "pragmatists" — whose touchstone is caution and who place the burden of proof on the person proposing a new idea. Philosophical-

ly the two often agree. But the pragmatist — the George Shultz and, yes, frequently the Ronald Reagan — puts less trust in ideology, his own included, and responds more to the promptings of experience, including that of others. The ideological views compromise as evil. The pragmatist views it as necessary.

Ideologues tend to personalize politics, seeing their own positions as unassailably correct and therefore ascribing any failure of their side to someone's personal villainy.

The State Department bureaucracy does not deal in heroes and villains. It acts as an institutional memory. Its role is to evaluate situations and proposals against a background of detailed knowledge of particular countries and their history, culture, economy, politics, interests, beliefs, personalities and behavior, and to anticipate unintended consequences.

Professional diplomats come naturally to their habit of caution. They have seen too many Bold New Initiatives bite the dust, and they have chafed on a lot of that dust themselves. In trying to protect the president from mistakes, the career Foreign Service can seem overprotective. But, on balance, overprotective is better than underprotective.

Presidents take pride in those occasions on which they have prevailed against the "timidity" or "half-saying" of the State Department. They seldom talk about the other times when that timidity saved them from costly errors, or even from disaster.

Conservatives should be the first to recognize that the past holds lessons and that avoiding avoidable disasters is one of the cardinal functions of government. But that recognition comes more naturally to pragmatic conservatives than it does to ideological conservatives. And this, more than any question of "hardness" or "softness" toward the Soviet Union, is at the heart of the struggle between Mr. Shultz and the ideological right.

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## ... and Congress Polices the Mandate

By Stuart E. Eizenstat

The writer, a lawyer, was President Carter's chief domestic policy adviser.

WASHINGTON — With Congress in recess, it is timely to ask why President Reagan is unable to translate his near-record high personal popularity with the public into more congressional support for his major programs. Why is he unable to duplicate the early successes of his first term, following an election victory even more sweeping than his defeat of Jimmy Carter in 1980? In the answers to some fundamental truths about the presidency.

Since his inauguration, the president has seen his fellow Republicans in the Senate join the Democratic-controlled House to brake his massive first-term military buildup.

His budget proposals for the new fiscal year, which his budget director characterized as the president's chance to reorder federal priorities, lie in shambles, treated with little reverence by either party in Congress.

His tax reform proposal, a genuinely bold initiative that was to be the domestic centerpiece of his second term, has lost public support and is unlikely to pass both houses of Congress this year in any form.

In foreign policy, both houses have rejected his South African policy of "constructive engagement" by passing economic sanctions legislation.

Even his few successes have been severely circumscribed. The MX missile will be deployed at only half the proposed level. The "contras" in Nicaragua will receive only nonmilitary assistance, and without the direct role for the CIA that the president sought.

Some of Mr. Reagan's difficulties can be ascribed to breaking in a new White House team, diversion of resources because of the TWA hijacking, his cancer surgery and his lame-duck status as political jockeying begins for the 1988 presidential election. But these are secondary. More fundamental factors are at work.

First, Mr. Reagan did not use the 1984 campaign to lay out a second-term blueprint. His mandate was simply not to rock the boat and not to return to his predecessor's policies. A

campaign gives a candidate his best opportunity to impose his views on the political system after election, by claiming a public endorsement.

Ronald Reagan had based his 1980 campaign on deep budget and tax cuts for the troubled economy and on increased military spending to bolster national security. He got from Congress what he campaigned for. But presidents rarely succeed with major initiatives for which they did not seek an election mandate.

Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign called explicitly for a war on poverty, and he got congressional support for the Great Society by legitimately claiming popular backing. He did not seek election support for the Vietnam buildup, and that buildup proceeded to undermine his presidency.

A central error of Jimmy Carter's administration was making his 1977 energy plan the domestic centerpiece of his first year, when energy had barely been an issue in the 1976 race and he could claim no public mandate for a sweeping energy program.

The Reagan tax reform is in the same position. He has tried to make a top priority out of an issue for which he never sought an election mandate. His pledge had been no tax increase, not comprehensive tax reform.

Absent a clear election mandate, only a crisis permits a president to make major changes. Without having campaigned for a policy, a president needs an intervening circumstance to focus public and congressional attention — like a sharp economic downturn or a Soviet presence in Nicaragua. No such dramatic event has given Mr. Reagan a peg on which to hang a second-term program.

The president's difficulties reflect America's political system, which divides power. It was created to promote continuity, not change, and to avoid abrupt redirections like those

Mr. Reagan seeks. In his first term he achieved as much of a major mid-course correction as the system permits. Ironically, his natural conservatism and dispersion of power prevent full achievement of Mr. Reagan's conservative revolution, whose central tenet is further decentralization.

Congress's greater assertion of power since Watergate compounds the difficulty that presidents have in implementing their agendas.

For Mr. Reagan, his second term may seem longer in time and shorter in achievement than his first. He will probably leave office with his popularity untouched, but without fully translating it into achievements.

The New York Times.

## Helicopters for Tourism?

In response to "U.S. Blacklist Upsets West Germany" (July 16):

When Delta-Avia sells 87 Hughes helicopters to North Korea — the same helicopter that South Korea buys for its military — we are supposed to believe that North Korea, arguably the most militaristic country in Asia, is buying them for civilian uses. The helicopters will be used for reconnaissance and to transport terrorists and/or troops for attacks on South Korea. These are the purposes for which they were bought. Did Hughes or Delta-Avia ever doubt it?

D. PAUL SONDEL  
Daegu, South Korea.

## Democracy in Taiwan

Regarding "Contest for Political Liberties Divides Chinese in U.S." (July 24):

This report's assertion that "the Kuomintang has ruled Taiwan under martial law, denying significant political power to the Taiwanese who constitute 85 percent of the island's 19 million population," is extremely un-

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

fair and hardly accurate. Democracy and political representation have come a long way since the Kuomintang moved to Taiwan in 1949.

Taiwan was a Japanese colony for 50 years before it was returned to China in 1945. During the Japanese occupation, the Chinese on Taiwan had no political freedom whatsoever. Today 70 percent of the Kuomintang's two million members are native Taiwanese, and they are steadily rising up the ranks of government. If the 75-year-old president, Chiang Ching-kuo, were for some reason unable to complete his term, he would be succeeded by a native Taiwanese, Vice President Lee Teng-hui.

Moreover, astounding progress that has been made in the economic realm over the last 35 years.

Democracy may not be perfect in Taiwan, but when the rate of progress is compared with that in other developing nations, it certainly cannot be considered slow. As the economy and education improve, one can expect this drive toward greater representation and participation to continue.

STEVEN LAI  
Taipei.

## Meat Here, Poison There

In response to "Manila Pressured to Ban Sale of Dogs, Cats to Eat" (July 20):

What amazes me is the profound ignorance of the 80,000 foreigners, most of them probably Americans and British, who sent grilling-hot postcards to the Philippine National Assembly in protest against dog and cat consumption. In many parts of the world, meat that is acceptable to Westerners is either too expensive or unavailable in sufficient quantities. Many of the 80,000 postcarders presumably feed to their pets what a majority of the world's peasants would be lucky to feed their children.

I suppose it's all right with these pet-lover activists if millions of people continue to eat rats.

TIMOTHY LAMARE  
Manila.

## A Classified Matter

About the "Have a nice day" signs: Does anyone know who built them?

AGAPROK, Italy.



No Choice But to Shift The Burden

By Benjamin J. Cohen

MEDFORD, Mass. — The American debt problem is back on the headlines. In the past few days, the debt problem has been the subject of a number of articles in the press. The debt problem is a complex one, and it is one that has been building up for some time. The debt problem is a result of a number of factors, including the large federal deficit, the high interest rates, and the slow growth of the economy. The debt problem is a serious one, and it is one that must be addressed soon. The debt problem is a result of a number of factors, including the large federal deficit, the high interest rates, and the slow growth of the economy. The debt problem is a serious one, and it is one that must be addressed soon.

August 9, 1985

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## About 'They' and 'We': Polish Writers And the Underground

by Michael T. Kaufman

**WARSAW** — The most sought-after book in Warsaw these days is an extraordinary, illicitly produced volume called "They." Its authors are the underground Polish writers who have proliferated in Poland over the last few years. The book is a collection of the self-critical recollections of fugitive leaders of Solidarity's clandestine wing. "They" has been so popular that the free-market price of the 256-page, small-print paperback is roughly one-tenth of a doctor's monthly salary; copies, secured through secret-police-dodging book runners, are lent or even rented out, carefully wrapped in paper to avoid soiling.

Essentially, "They" is a dialogue, or rather an interrogation, of seven old and for the most part disgraced Communist leaders who collaborated with their Soviet mentors in the first decades after World War II to advance an ideology of atheism, centralization, police authoritarianism and farm collectivization on a largely unwilling, mostly Roman Catholic, significantly anarchistic and romantic nation. The interviews were conducted and taped by Teresa Toranska, a pro-Solidarity journalist, who in the course of her questions reveals that her father was deported to the Soviet Union when the people she interviewed were in power.

If the subjects of Toranska's interviews are "they" — exponents of alien beliefs who are now shunned even by their political heirs — then Toranska's aggressively interrogative voice is that of Poland's "we," a nation of often quarrelsome citizens who periodically, as in the case of Solidarity, come together in defiance of oppression. It is a nation where, after 40 years of virtual monopoly by the Communist Party on education, propaganda and information, manual workers kiss women's hands, scorn the word "comrade" and regularly go to church, thus affirming the difference between "we" and "they."

Toranska's book does much the same thing. But in addition to confirming national self-esteem, it has real value as a work of history. For perhaps the first time in any Communist country, leaders who have not defected or recanted reveal — often with defensive self-justification — how they manipulated, cheated, threatened, denounced, imprisoned and condemned in the name of power and in the hope of molding history. These pages of transcribed, tape recordings contain admissions that the 1946 referendum paving the way for the Communist takeover was rigged; that major policies for Poland were in fact established in Moscow and implemented by Russians; and that killings, persecution and torture were condoned as historical necessities.

**BOOKS** like "They" and "Konspira," involving reminiscences, memoirs and history, are much more common in Poland and, it would seem, more widely read, than fiction. "Konspira," for example, has set off a debate in Solidarity circles as to whether the disclosures of those who set up clandestine networks for dues collection, radio broadcasts and literature distribution were unnecessarily indiscreet. The atmosphere is thick with open letters, manifestos

and pamphlets, as well as much poetry. Works combining political commentary with moral philosophy abound; Adam Michnik, now serving a two-and-a-half year sentence for advocating an aborted 15-minute strike, is often praised not only for his political arguments but for his literary style. He is compared by some Poles to Tom Paine, by others to John Stuart Mill.

Some months ago, while Michnik was in detention awaiting trial, his fiancée, Barbara Swedowska, took a Western reporter to a performance of mildly political songs from the 1960s, including one that asks, "What would Mr. Adam and Mr. Juliusz be writing today?" The reference was to Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Slowacki, the 19th-century poets and prophetic nationalists whose visions and romantic deeds continue to define Polish literary life. In that theater, with Swedowska in the audience and the actors singing about Mr. Adam and Mr. Juliusz, the sense of historical continuity, always a factor in Poland, became even more acute. Michnik's first clash with the law came in those same '60s, when he protested the cancellation of a play by Mickiewicz; the play had been ordered suspended in response to Soviet diplomats' complaints at its portrayal of czarist officials as colonialists.

Between prison terms, Michnik served at one point as secretary to the late Antoni Slonimski, a renowned poet who stood in the tradition of Mickiewicz and Slowacki and was a precursor of today's greatest Polish poets, the Nobel laureate Czeslaw Milosz and Zbigniew Herbert. There was a palpable recognition in the theater that if Mr. Adam and Mr. Juliusz were alive today they would be writing about the same things that concern Michnik, Milosz and Herbert: freedom, destiny, nation, hope and redemption.

Some days later, Tadeusz Konwicki, Poland's best-known novelist, explained the moral obligations of literature in his country over lunch. "What you have to understand," said the author of "The Polish Complex," "A Dreambook for Our Time" and, most recently, "Underground River," "is that for almost 200 years we have judged our writers not by what they wrote but by how they behaved at the barricades."

It is again a case of "they" and "we," with the line drawn in this instance between those who are published officially and those whose works are produced by the clandestine publishing houses, between those who belong to the official writers' union and those who do not. In the eyes of much of literate Polish society, Konwicki is on the right side of the barricades. He is not a member of the writers' union and has offered his last books for publication by underground printers. His fiction, often characterized as absurdist in tone, is in the author's view only a mirror of the world in which he writes: "I am not a fabulist, I am a realist, it is life in Poland that is absurd." Just back from a visit to Australia and the United States, he is working on an autobiographical book that describes his role in a wartime resistance group in his native Vilna (now in Lithuania) and his arrival in Warsaw after the war.

Another writer who finds himself somewhat reluctantly at the barricades is Marek Nowakowski, who has just published a collection of short stories, "The Canary," in English translation. These days Nowakowski gives a lot of readings in churches and he, too, offers his work to clandestine



Marek Nowakowski.



Jacek Fedorowicz.

publishers, a fact that no doubt contributed to the short period he spent under arrest last summer.

His stories — about drunks, lovers without apartments and taxi drivers — are political only insofar as life in Poland is political. He is not overjoyed by the issues dividing his society. "Personally," he said, "I do not think a writer should stand with anyone, neither with Solidarity nor the government." But given the split into official and unofficial literary cultures, he sees practical as well as moral advantages to the uncensored publishing enterprises.

In the official culture," he said, "there are three focal points: the writer, the publisher and the censor. In addition to the problems of conscience this situation creates, it is cumbersome, and the minimum time required for a book to appear is two years. In the unofficial culture the process is quicker and cleaner." The flexibility of that culture was revealed when a collection of the Reverend Jerzy Popiełuszko's sermons was produced within a month of his murder by secret police officials.

Recently, the police have stepped up their pursuit of illicit publishers. Every week there are reports of people being arrested as "kolporters," or bookleggers. Trucks on the roads on Sundays are regularly stopped by police searching for shipments of paper, which is officially rationed and controlled. Among those seized recently were people

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## Out on the Celtic Fringe

by Stephen Williams

**ORIENT, France** — The Celts invaded southern Brittany this week, scorching the earth with music and ravaging the pedestrian malls with poetry.

The pipe-playing, harp-plucking tribes came from the four well-known corners of the Celtic Fringe — Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Brittany — and from three "nations" that would seem to qualify for the event just under the wire — Cornwall, the Isle of Man and Galicia, in northwestern Spain.

Lorient, in the wooded and wind-swept Morbihan region about 160 kilometers (100 miles) up the jagged coast west from Nantes, is the annual venue for this gathering of the turbulent Celtic cousinhood, the Festival Interceltique, which is more than just fish soup and folklore.

For 10 days (and nights), 4,500 musicians, singers, dancers, artists, writers and athletes have asserted their Celtitude in the concert halls, public parks, cafes, saloons and streets of this city of 65,000. The uprising — this year's is the 15th — ends this weekend with the Breton Pipe Band Championships and, on Sunday, the Grand Parade of the Celtic Nations.

Nationhood is the key, and along with the songs, art shows and liquid cheer, there is a feeling here of an identity in search of a country. Yet, besides their position clinging to the headlands of Western Europe, the richness and similarities of their folk music and mythology, and their legendary 12-month rainy season, what has brought the seven "nations" together under the as-yet-uncreated banner of Celtia?

Jean-Pierre Picard, secretary-general of the festival's organizing committee, puts it down to the long history of the un-Romanized, insular Celts. The Romans barely penetrated Wales, walked off the Highland Scots, or Picts, and never attempted to meet the Irish head-on. This eccentricity was carried over to Brittany when the Anglo-Saxons proved too hot to handle, and then on to Galicia. And in their remaining redoubts, the Celtic character was preserved.

"They have always been minorities lost in the extreme west of Europe with their own specific culture," says Picard, who sees the common bond among them as the *boulevard maritime*, the ocean, and the Festival Interceltique as a "communion of the peoples of the sea."

But although the Celtic Connection is obvious enough in some ways, such as kilts and fiddles, there are differences as broad as the Celtic Sea and as sharp as the Irishman's celebrated wit.

Does Celtitude signify the preservation of an ancient language group, a musical tradition, a certain nostalgia for a "country" or a shared glory over a lost historical cause? The unhappy (for the Celts) fact that all of the major regions of Celtia have suffered from their powerful and better-organized neighbors since the Middle Ages does not in itself make for the strong sense of solidarity that raises its shaggy head here every August.

Take language, and the Welsh, for example, take it very seriously: *Cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galon* (A nation without language is a nation without heart). But how many tongue-lashings do children of the Fringe get nowadays in the original Scots-Gaelic-Manx-Irish-Welsh-Breton?

The festival's map of the seven "nations" was color-coded by a whimsical cartographer with the Celt's typical disdain for mere truth. A tourist from Vienna or Milan, searching for cultural, geographical or any links among the western tribes would find that the map includes all of Scotland, Ire-



Putting the shot, Celtic style.

land, Wales and Brittany, plus the lesser three. Linguistically, this is nonsense, and by no stretch of even the luxurious Celtic imagination could Edinburgh, Dublin and Cardiff be described as speaking anything, but a highly colored brand of English, while it is doubtful that Rennes, the Breton capital on the eastern edge of the province, has ever heard Breton spoken outside the walls of its university. And the last native Cornish speaker (Cornish is related to Welsh and Breton in the Brythonic branch of the Celtic family) took a whole culture to the grave in the late 18th century.

**W**ORTHY efforts at language revival notwithstanding, Wales, the country that has best guarded the secret of keeping an old tongue alive in the face of foreign attempts to cut it out, has lost Welsh speakers over the years and now just over 20 percent of the population of 2.8 million can properly pronounce a word like *ynfydwydd* (foolishness). Scottish Gaelic (the Scots use "Gaelic" to differentiate their brand of the Gaelic branch of the Celtic group from "Gaelic" which the Irish, in turn, logically eschew in favor of "Irish") holds on by its fingernails to the Western Highlands and Islands, while the native Irish speakers do the same desperate balancing act along their indented coastline from Kerry to Donegal. The teaching of Irish is, on the other hand, entrenched in the republic's schools.

Brittany is divided linguistically by a wavy

north-south line, with the western part *bretonnant*, or Breton speaking, and the east all French. From a million Breton speakers 15 years ago, the number has dwindled to about half that today.

Then, there are the Manx. Once upon a time, an Irish giant, probably angered at the results of a Glasgow Rangers-Celtic soccer match, scooped up a piece of Irish turf and hurled it in the general direction of Scotland. It landed about halfway between the docks of Liverpool and the shipyards of Belfast and became the Isle of Man. Now, the Manx did speak a dialect of Irish, brought by Saint Patrick's missionaries, and even the Vikings' tough methods of persuasion could not convince them to change, until the 19th century relegated the Manx language to scholars and culture enthusiasts.

Here again, as in Cornwall, the revivalist spirit has gained precious ground in the last 10 years or so, helped by night-school classes, language associations and events such as the Lorient fest.

For Picard, 39, who is director of the Regional Conservatory of Brittany, a bastion of traditional music, the festival has given the Fringe a greater sense of confidence. "The Celts have lost their complex," he says. Such a problem might come as news to the Scots or Irish, especially the stern-faced members of the Upper Crossgare Pipe Band from Northern Ireland, who, in full war paint, skirled through the streets of

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## Modern Art Museums: Too Much of the Same Thing

by John Russell

**I**N my line of work, I get to go to a great many museums of modern art. I stroll through them, one and all, with an undiminished curiosity. But sometimes, after a week or two on the road, I catch myself forgetting which one I happen to be in. There can be nothing of that sort at the Pompidou Center, where the celebrated silvery light and an incomparable series of distant views says "Paris!" loud and clear. But when there are no windows and no natural light, and when the museum café is much the same, the museum bookshop is much the same, and even the public is much the same, above all the collection is much the same, a certain lulling quality sets in.

There is no question at such times of "If it's Frank Stella, it must be Amsterdam," or "If it's Baselitz, it's Barcelona." Frank Stella and Georg Baselitz are everywhere — consecrated, mandatory, inescapable.

To a degree that was not paralleled even 30 years ago, the same quite small band of living artists gets into virtually every museum of modern art. The question is not so much whether the museum will have a de Kooning, a Calder, a Henry Moore, a George Segal, a Francis Bacon, a Jasper Johns, a Roy Lichtenstein, an Anselm Kiefer, a Francesco Clemente or a Julian Schnabel, as whether it will have the pick of the crop or one that is not so great.

Behind these, in terms of chronology, the list of accepted marvels is likely to include a Pollock, a Newman, a Rothko, a Gorky, a late Guston, a Dubuffet and a late Picasso. From recent years there may well be a Brice Marden, a Donald Judd, a Carl Andre, a Sol LeWitt,

an R. B. Kitaj, a Cy Twombly, a Richard Long, a Gilbert and George, a Robert Ryma, a Sandro Chia, an Enzo Cucchi, a Richard Serra, a Jennifer Bartlett, an Elizabeth Murray, a Susan Rothenberg, an A. R. Penck, a David Salle and a Robert Longo.

Permutations can be rung on these lists, and there is never a lack of new candidates, but fundamentally this is the kind of team that goes to bat for living art. It is a very good team, but when we meet it the world over, from Los Angeles to Eindhoven in the Netherlands and from New York to the Ludwig museum in Aachen, West Germany, it finally ceases to surprise.

It is, in fact, the buildings, and not what we see in them, that are full of surprises. Where museums of older art differ hugely in the range and depth of their interests, museums of modern art on the whole do not. They operate as if all had become known, once and for all, and as if recent art were, in fact, "a given," in relation to which not much maneuver was possible. This is not how it was when the Barnes Collection was being built up in the suburbs of Philadelphia, or the Phillips Collection in Washington.

Those were wayward assortments, personal down to the last doorknob, and the regular visitor to modern museums must wonder whether things have changed for the worse, or for the better, and why it should be, in either case. It is true that Dr. Albert C. Barnes and Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Phillips were spending their own money and did not have to adapt or adjust to anyone else. Even so, a different aesthetic was in operation, and we have to ask what has been lost if it can no longer go to work.

I first faced the change at full strength when at table a few summers ago with Rudi Fuchs, director of the Eindhoven Museum, who at the time was organizing the last "Documents" exhibition in

Kassel, West Germany. Much to the discomfort of some of those present, he said, "There are no undiscovered artists!" Whether or not he meant it literally, it is true that many museums now seem to operate on that principle. It is a situation that necessarily disappoints the vast majority of living artists.

Fuchs, a galvanic Dutchman, was at that moment on German soil. Hardly had we returned home than we received in the mail an eight-volume set of books on younger German artists — more than 300 in all — who had a certain status in their immediate locality. Much of what they did was a faithful imitation of the fashionable styles of the day. Still, some of the elsewhere unsung artists in question looked to be just as good as the handful of German painters who have lately turned up everywhere. (Some of them were women, too, which is not the case with the few who are now in high favor.)

**S**O what is it that gives certain artists so conspicuous an edge? Is it superior energy, superior marketing, superior connections, personal magnetism or a combination of all these things with a little luck thrown in? Are there within the current situation elements of conspiracy, corruption, favoritism, quick money and (here and there) a governmental push? Or are the best artists the best, without qualifications, and recognized as such?

If we take these notions seriously, I for one have no doubt that artists today can and do penetrate the armored edifice of public indifference in ways that did not exist even 30 years ago. There is an enormous public that is eager for the new and doesn't want to miss out on it. Gifted artists of our time find this intoxicating — why shouldn't they? — and undeniably it gives some of them a built-in

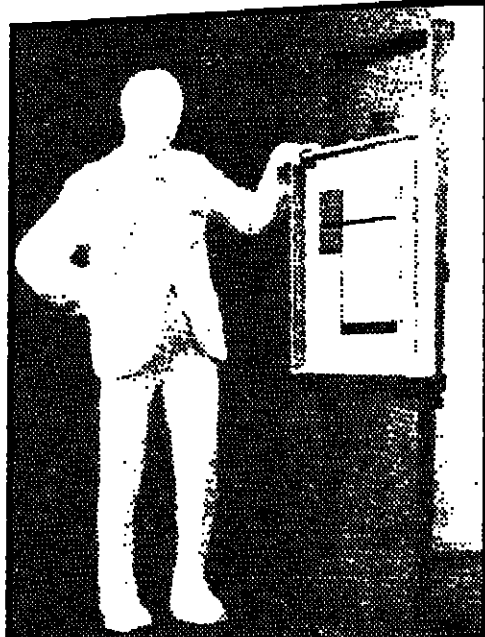
boost that makes them develop fast, at the risk (often posited in envy and hatred, but also sometimes in sympathy and compassion) of burning themselves out in a year or two.

As for art dealing, it has certainly changed beyond recognition since Ambrose Vollard stocked up with Cézannes and sat on them, apparently half asleep, until he felt like selling one. Gone forever, likewise, are the procedures of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, the German-born Parisian dealer who at one time had the exclusivity of Picasso, Braque, Léger and Juan Gris but who never advertised, never had an opening and never offered anyone so much as a cup of tea.

For better or worse, the art trade today is a multinational affair, an improved and microscopic version of the United Nations in which everything works to mutual advantage. To name even some of the dealers who excel at this can only be invidious, but anyone who monitors the activity of such New York dealers as Leo Castelli, Ileana Sonnabend, Xavier Fourcade, Paula Cooper, Arnold Glimcher of the Pace Gallery, Lawrence Rubin of Knoedler's and André Emmerich will sense what it is to have the international touch.

These people have their counterparts in London, Paris, Berlin, Basel and elsewhere. They function not only as dealers, where their artists are concerned, but as bankers, brokers, translators, marriage counselors, bookkeepers, unpaid therapists, travel agents and wizards at real estate. Contrary to what is often said, there is nothing wrong with artists making the kind of income that lawyers, brokers, bankers, venture capitalists, entrepreneurs and chairmen of the board take for granted. There are still many people who think,

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GEORGE SEGAL: "Sidney Janis With Mondrian Painting," 1967.



JASPER JOHNS: "Painted Bronze, 1960 (Ale Cans)."



HENRY MOORE: "Reclining Figure: Hoies," 1975-78.



FRANCIS BACON: "Self-Portrait With Injured Eye," 1972.







## FOR FUN AND PROFIT

## Getting Your Money Back If Travel Firms Default

by Paul Grimes

NEW YORK — Paying for travel is easy. But trying to get your money back when a travel company defaults can be one of the most frustrating and fruitless of experiences. You may wait years as bankruptcy proceedings slog through the courts, and even when a ruling is handed down in your favor, there may not be enough money to repay you.

Sometimes travelers are lucky. As described by Leslie Trotter, manager of special projects for the American Society of Travel Agents, such was the case in December 1983, when Specific Tours of Los Angeles, which operated tours to the South Pacific, filed for protection under the Federal Bankruptcy Code and suspended operations. Specific Tours was a participant in ASTA's Tour Payment Protection Plan, established in March 1982. This meant, among other things, that the company had posted a \$100,000 bond or the equivalent. It was this money, Trotter said, that was used to repay in full everyone who had bought a Specific Tours package through a travel agency that is a member of ASTA but had not yet left.

In recent years there have been several major cases in which both consumers and travel agents suffered because of defaults or because companies, without going bankrupt, simply curtailed operations sharply or suspended them. Laker, Continental Air Lines, Braniff International Air, Value Vacations, Travel Headquarters, Jet Exchange — these are some of the names that are well known to travelers who either were stranded far from home or found that the tickets they had bought were worthless.

How to improve the situation is a major issue in the U.S. travel industry. Everyone seems to agree that current default protection is tokenism, at best. Yet most attempts to do more have been thwarted by fear of ruinous costs. For example, under a 1982 agreement, more than 100 U.S. airlines promised, under certain circumstances, to honor the tickets of a defaulting carrier. The agreement collapsed, however, when Continental filed for reorganization under the Bankruptcy Code and sharply cut operations. Few airlines would honor Continental tickets, contending that the line had not actually defaulted.

Some travel agency conglomerates, such as the American Express network, provide their own airline default protection for travelers who purchase tickets through them. Meanwhile, some default insurance is available to the general public through travel agencies. Without insurance, your chances of default protection depend on the type of travel you buy and how and where you buy it. Here is a rundown of some situations you could face:

**Risks With Tour Packages:** If a tour operator defaults, you could be in trouble on several grounds. If your trip has already begun, you may find that hotels will no longer honor the prepaid vouchers that the operator issued you, and you may have difficulty getting an airline to honor your ticket home. While you will have prepaid your trip in full, except for incidentals, the operator may not have passed on more than a deposit to the airlines and hotels. It is hotel and airline pressure on the operator to pay overdue bills that often causes defaults in the first place.

If the default occurs long before you are scheduled to leave home, probably only a deposit is at stake. Within a few weeks of departure, however, you are likely to have paid in full and could lose everything. Even the \$100,000 bond required by ASTA's Tour Payment Protection Plan may not be available to help, because by latest count the plan

had only 47 participants, and you would have had to have purchased your tour through an ASTA member agency. A similar \$100,000 bond for consumer protection is required of all members of the United States Tour Operators Association, but they number only 37 — mostly giants of the industry whose chances of default are considered slim. Yet thousands of other companies and individuals operate tours, many of them offshoots of neighborhood travel agencies — and that is where problems are likeliest.

**Protection for Air Charters:** Though many travelers are wary of charters because of the chance of delays and other inconveniences, they offer greater default protection than tour operation generally. Federal regulations require a charter operator to post a \$200,000 surety bond and to keep payments from travelers in an escrow account until a trip is completed.

Problems have occurred when the operator or the bank does not scrupulously observe the escrow rule and the operator suspends business, leaving an empty till. If you

## Protection plans exist, but pitfalls are frequent

are buying a charter trip directly from the operator, therefore, be sure that your check is made out to the escrow account at the specified bank. Never pay for a charter in cash or by credit card, advises Thomas A. Dickerson, a consumer-oriented travel lawyer, since you have no assurance where the money will land.

**Defaults of Travel Agencies:** Existing default-protection plans won't help if your travel agent goes bankrupt or, as sometimes happens, simply disappears. Your chances of recourse diminish even further if your agency is not at least accredited to, and in good standing with, the Airlines Reporting Corp., a regulatory trade group and ticket clearing house that requires payments every seven days. Agencies accredited to the corporation must post a bond of \$10,000 to \$50,000, depending on sales volume, to cover payments for tickets issued just before default occurs.

This bond means that if you hold such an unused ticket, the airline will probably honor it. However, if you paid the agency for a ticket but never received it, you are out the money. And you also might have difficulty if your ticket is marked nonrefundable or non-transferable to any other airline, since that may be interpreted as a sign that you paid less than an established fare.

Many hotels show little tolerance for travel agencies that don't pay their bills promptly, even if they don't default. Therefore, unless you are buying a reduced-rate package that requires prepayment in full, ask your agent to accept only one night's deposit for each hotel stay, or better still, a credit-card number to guarantee payment for the first night. Then, should the hotel refuse to accept the voucher the agent gives you, at most you will be out only one night's money. "Whether a voucher is accepted often comes down to a business decision by the hotel," Ray Greenly of ASTA said. "It's a matter of how much goodwill they get from accepting it against how much they are going to lose out of their pocket."

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Roger Collis is on vacation.

## Polish Writers

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associated with Kultura, probably the most prestigious Polish underground quarterly.

But while the police may be intensifying their efforts to quash the country's underground culture, the writers and artists are branching out. Nova, one of the clandestine publishing houses, is producing and distributing audio tapes carrying speeches, patriotic songs and humorous satirical monologues by people such as Jacek Fedorowicz. Fedorowicz, once Poland's foremost television personality, has been supporting himself since martial law was declared by selling his comic paintings in churches and factories. It is widely believed — and he does not exactly deny the assertion — that he drew and wrote a hard-core comic book portraying Solidarity's creation and its subsequent suppression.

In another recent innovation, Solidarity Underground's radio division has developed the technical capability to insert slogans and instructions into government television programs. Some weeks ago, viewers in a Warsaw suburb were surprised to see the slogan "Solidarity lives" flash over the commentators' heads on the nightly news broadcast.

There is also the case of "The Interrogation," a film made by Ryszard Bugajski, who is in the process of emigrating to Canada. The film, detailing the prison torture of woman in the 1950s, was made in a prison during the free period when Solidarity flourished. Before it could be released, martial law was imposed. Prints of the movie were ordered destroyed, but at least one survived. It is being shown to the informal videoclub groups that gather to view that and other unsanctioned tapes.

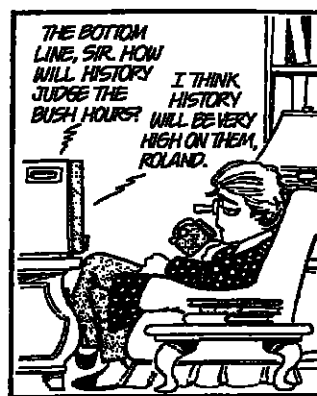
One effect of such popular outpourings

has been to make the products of officially sanctioned culture more candid and critical, and thus more competitive. While much of the writing in the clandestine publications is supplied by unpaid volunteers, their publishers still pay the better-known authors royalties and are said to make money. With few esteemed living writers willing to risk their credibility by submitting to censorship, the official publishing houses are producing more and more works by dead but once forbidden authors. For example, a big seller last year was Mieczysław Mochnacki's two-volume "History of the Polish Uprising," a bitterly anti-Russian history written in 1832 and not published in Poland since 1862. An anthology of Jewish poetry in Polish, prepared for publication 25 years ago but held by the editors, has finally appeared. At the same time, curbs on sexual themes and nudity have been relaxed. A few years ago, Playboy was seized at the airport; now calendars printed by government printers and advertising government enterprises regularly show photographs of naked women.

Theater and the movies are most visibly free of official restrictions. Nearly every theater piece and cabaret act offers digs at government policies and ironic references to prices or economic reform. One highly acclaimed and very bitter play, "Clowns," depicts a circus in which everyone has to be a clown. As the actors cavort gymnastically about the stage, gradually shedding their makeup, an iron cage is constructed around them. When the last bar is in place, a voice offstage announces, "And now, do whatever you like." One Warsaw theatergoer commented, "If they didn't allow any criticism, there'd be no theater at all."

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## DOONESBURY



## TRAVEL Ithaca: Odysseus' Craggy Island Home

by Edward Tick

My home is on the peaked seamount of Ithaca Under Mount Neion's windblown robe of leaves, in sight of other islands I shall not see a place on earth more dear.

WITH these words, in Homer's "Odyssey," Odysseus revealed his identity and homeland to King Alcinous on the last leg of his 10-year journey home from the Trojan War.

Odysseus was returned to Ithaca by a ship of Phaeacians whose men, in Homer's words, "bent forward at the oars and caught the sea as one man, stroking." Today, a ferry crosses from Patras or Kellini on the western coast of the Peloponnese to the largest of the seven islands, Cephalonia. On this crossing, through sea haze and the glare of sun off blue-gray waters, the first sighting of Ithaca may be as it was on Odysseus' return about 3,000 years ago. A high gray crag, rocky and desolate, rises out of the Ionian Sea like a mammoth whale, swathed in mist and mystery.

Cephalonia, often called the island of wonders, is green and lush with high mountains and deep valleys planted with orange lemon and olive groves. Crossing roads that snake up, down and around the verdant island, a bus arrives in the village of Same on the eastern shore. Across the channel to the northwest lies Ithaca. One ferry a day, arriving from Patras, leaves Same at about 5:30 P.M. for Vathy, Ithaca's port.

The channel between Cephalonia (its name is sometimes transliterated as Kephallenia) and Ithaca is only a mile wide, but it is a long, slow ferry ride around the southern tip of the second-smallest island in the Ionian chain. Ithaca's rocks are studded with bushy growth, broken occasionally by narrow goat paths that plunge straight down to the sea. Numerous coves containing small, protected beaches, resemble the one where Odysseus landed with his gifts of bronze and gold treasure. As Homer described it (in the Robert Fitzgerald translation):

Two points Of high rock, breaking sharply, hunch around Making a haven from the plunging surf . . . On the innermost shore, an olive tree Throws wide its boughs over the bay; nearby, A cave of dusky light is hidden.

After an hour of circling the desolate lower peninsula of Ithaca without sight of village or farm, the ferry enters a deep bay from the northeast. In the shelter of the bay is Vathy, Ithaca's only port and home of half the island's population of 4,000.

Vathy rings its bay like a horseshoe. The ferry pulls through the narrow harbor entrance guarded on the east by ancient gun emplacements set into the hills. It docks by the Town Hall and tourist office on the western side of a quay lined with single-masted fishing vessels and dinghies painted in bright whites, reds and greens.

Vathy's main avenues, Odysseus, Penelope, Telemachus, Laertion (as the maps and guidebooks show them), recall the ancient family that made the island famous. Shorter streets begin along the harbor front and pass two hotels, Odysseus on the western loop, Mentor on the eastern; art and textile shops; a bank, pharmacy and restaurants and back-street groceries set among white-washed houses roofed with red tiles. The streets finally fade into vineyards and olive groves in the surrounding hills.

NOT long after the ferry docks, Apollo's chariot, the sun, shimmering like a shield of molten gold, races over the western hills, turning a burnished red as it dips below the horizon toward Cephalonia.

Dusk in Vathy. In the seaside tavernas on Efthathion Dracoli Square, wizened local fishermen tell tales of the sea and enjoy coffee, ouzo and pastries. The omnipresent backgammon game — tavli, the Greeks call it — appears. Political arguments rise from small groups huddled around tiny tables.

A modern Telemachus, dressed in white, stunts through the square, carrying his grand catch of the day by the gills, showing it off to everyone he meets. Carts from the villages arrive and parents in peasant garb lecture their fidgety children. A landscape painter from Athens applies the last dabs of color to the darkening waters on his canvas before packing his paints for the day. In the distance, lights flicker and cluster like constellations against the black backdrop of the hills.

Morning in Vathy may be overcast or sunny. For Ithaca lies west of the mainland and is open to the sea. It thus has more rain than most other parts of Greece, giving it a year-round mild climate and lush vegetation. In mid-May, with the temperature hovering between 80 and 90 degrees, the residents say, "It is still winter here."

Among the places worth visiting in and around Vathy are the Vathy Museum, with an extensive collection of vases excavated from two shrines at nearby Aetos, the Grotto of the Nymphs (half a mile west of Vathy) and the Fountain of Arethusa (three miles south of the town), both identified with scenes in "The Odyssey." But more exciting than these are the clues to the life and times of Odysseus to be found elsewhere.

A narrow isthmus, less than 2,000 feet wide, connects the northern and southern halves of Ithaca and shows its shape to be a double island. The western road leaves the harbor and winds up the edge of the horseshoe ring, circling the northern shore of the lower half of Ithaca. About three miles from Vathy, a road forks in from the left. This road climbs steeply to the pinnacle of the hill named Aetos, height 2,195 feet. On this hill, around 1868, Heinrich Schliemann, the archaeologist who discovered ancient Troy,



Ithaca, from the coast road near Stavros.

went searching for Odysseus' palace. He did not find the king's court, but unearthed the walls of buildings that formed part of the post-Mycenaean settlement of Alakomenai. Past this site, the road plunges to one of Ithaca's many pleasant beaches.

Beyond the isthmus, the road continues along the western face of the island, with the heights of Mount Neion overhead on the east and steep drops to low-lying beaches and scattered houses on the west. Across the channel, much of Cephalonia, from Same toward the south to its northern point at Fiscardo, is visible. This wide view is reputedly why Odysseus' father, Laertes, chose the smaller, rougher island as the seat of his kingdom. In his day, Cephalonia and other islands were part of the Laertian-Odyssean kingdom. Ithaca, with its craggy peaks and central location in the island group, provided vistas from which the entire kingdom could be surveyed.

The road passes through the quiet hamlet of Lefki to arrive in Stavros, 11 miles from Vathy. From the central crossroads in Stavros, a northbound road leads through the remote village of Sholi Ornou to emerge in a wide, northern-facing cove with the beautiful Aetos beach. West of Sholi Ornou, but approached by the same road out of Stavros is Exogi (Old Church) perched on a mountain. An eastern road from Stavros leads through Frikes and past its rock-studded bay dotted with dinghies. Beyond is the fishing village of Kioni, nestled in its cove, with streets beginning at the water's edge and rising sharply into the hillsides above. Kioni has four sunny rock beaches and, on points looking east toward the mainland, three windmills, now unused.

The western road out of Stavros winds downward to the bay of Polis. There, when the weather leaves the clear waters calm, a

swim 50 yards out from the beach provides a full view of the remaining walls and foundations of an underwater city. Polis Bay was once larger and in the classical period was a port of call for Greek ships bound for Italy. "Hundreds of ships," Homer says, "are beached on sea-girt Ithaca."

In Odysseus' time, the underwater city was a thriving port community. There is some evidence that this was the harbor of the Odyssean palace from which his son Telemachus set forth to search for his father. Across the channel, Same can be seen a mile away. Near the opposite shore is a tiny islet called Daskalion, thought to have been Asteris, where Penelope's suitors lay in ambush for Telemachus, "planning the death plunge."

In caves around the Bay of Polis and on Pelikata Hill, about one-half mile north of Stavros, British archaeologists in about 1932 discovered Mycenaean walls and pottery dating from the time of Odysseus.

Near the same site north of Stavros is a museum, locked most of the time. In the square of Stavros, inquiry must be made in the school or one of the tavernas for Fotini Kouvaras, the museum keeper. Mrs. Kouvaras, a South African, with her husband, a local schoolmaster, have been volunteer keepers of the Stavros museum for the last 20 years. She escorts curious travelers from all over the world, at a rate of about one a day, through the plaster one-room museum whose leaking roof has caused the ruin of urns 2,000 years old. She carefully and lovingly points out the many treasures of her small museum that were found in Polis, on Pelikata, or dug up by local peasants tending their gardens.

A wooden cabinet holds the museum's archeological treasure. It is the only shard in existence bearing Odysseus' name that dates from his own time, suggesting that he may

have been a historical as well as mythological figure. Also in the museum is an Attic lekythos bearing portraits of Athena, Odysseus and Telemachus.

Mrs. Kouvaras leads the way to a nearby olive grove from which bays can be viewed to the north, east and west. She cites the references to this view in Homer and points beneath thick, gnarled, ancient trees to a line of three squared-off boulders, each heading a stone wall that snakes through the orchard. These, the local people believe, were cornerstones of the palace of Odysseus. Here, as described by Nikos Kazantzakis in his modern sequel to "The Odyssey,"

Odysseus reached his hairy hands in his wild court And double-barred his copper-banded groin ing gates . . . It seemed the guardian lions moved their strong jaws.

On the northern road out of Stavros is a sign reading Homer's School. A village guide in the center of an unmowed field and smaller stones surrounding them in the shape of an amphitheater. Here, it is believed, Homer came to gain inspiration, instruct aspiring poets and compose and recite verses of his epic.

RETURNING south from Stavros, about halfway back to Vathy, a road cuts into the face of Mount Neion in fiddler's elbow fashion. It is gravelled and slippery. The climb by motorbike up the three and a half miles is heart-straining; the climb by taxi takes an hour. Partly up is an archeological site unmarked on maps, Laertes' Farm. This is the "loved orchard" of Odysseus' father, ripe with olives, figs and musk-grapes. In Kazantzakis' epic, Laertes returned to this place in his final moments of life to sow fistfuls of seed in rain-soaked soil.

The monastery summit, 1,969 feet high, is crowded with goats herded by an old couple in traditional dark dress. If the priest is in residence, the treasured El Greco icon, "Jesus Being Led to Martyrdom," can be viewed. The heights offer a magnificent view of all of Ithaca — its two large peninsulas, its skinny isthmus, Vathy like a toy village far below and everywhere, in blues, greens and grays, the splendid "wine-dark sea."

With the passing of the Odyssean kingdom, Ithaca disappeared as a site of historical importance in the development of Greece. But Ithaca, craggy, sea-girt, sparsely populated gave birth to the first hero in Western civilization who triumphed by shrewd intelligence rather than brute strength. This tiny island, unrestored, as are so many ruined sites in Greece, seems still to perch in the mist of myth.

The 7 A.M. ferry pulls out of Vathy harbor "under the cloudy gloom." It is leaving a land where, as the poet Cavafy wrote in "Ionian Song," "the gods did not die" but rather, "a vigor from their life moves through your air."

Edward Tick is a writer who lives in Albany, New York. He wrote this article for The New York Times.

**Herald Tribune**

Opening for Talks Is Seen in Moscow

Commit Leaders Vow to Push for an Economic Recovery

U.S. Says 7 "Threat" Agreements

Western Leaders Doubt U.S. Recovery's Power

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Statistics Index  
AUGUST 9, 1985  
FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1985

## TECHNOLOGY

New Software Is Key  
To Wind-Shear Radar

By DAVID E. SANGER

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — No sooner had wind shear been identified as the probable cause of the Delta Air Lines L-1011 crash that killed 133 people last week than several government and industry experts asserted that the accident was probably avoidable.

They said existing technology, in the form of Doppler radar equipment, could track movements of the deadly "microbursts" of air capable of thrusting a low-flying plane to the ground. But budgetary politics and bad planning, they said, have delayed installation of the system.

When pressed, however, both the manufacturers of Doppler radar systems and some meteorologists concede that significant refinements in technology are needed before airport systems can go into production, even though a research version was successfully tested at Denver last summer.

The federal government has a system called Nexrad (for Next Generation Radar) that has developed experimental set-ups ideal for detecting tornadoes, hurricanes and other large storm systems. But in its current configuration, the system is not suited for airports — where faster, more accurate radar is needed and where trucks, taxiing planes and buildings create "ground clutter" that can interfere with the detection system.

More important, almost no work has been done on the computer software needed to interpret microbursts and provide a quick warning to flight controllers and pilots.

"It's not an issue of technical breakthroughs because we have the framework for the system," said Stephen Delligatti, who heads the Sperry Corp.'s effort to beat Raytheon Corp. as the prime contractor for Nexrad. "But to make a really workable airport system, there is a lot of work to do."

RADAR measures the distance to an object by timing the round trip of a microwave signal. If the signal is strong, it means the target is dense — such as a heavy rainstorm. Conventional systems, however, cannot detect motion.

Doppler radar, by contrast, detects motion by comparing the frequency of the pulse it emits with the frequency of the reflected pulse it receives a split second later. The most familiar example of the Doppler effect is the changing pitch of a passing train's whistle.

From its antenna, the Doppler system surveys a circular area with a radius of about 200 miles (324 kilometers), drawing a picture of the weather patterns between 10,000 and 70,000 feet (between 3,000 and 21,000 meters) off the ground. But it takes at least 10 minutes to complete the picture. This delay can be deadly at an airport.

"Microbursts are small and short-lived, and the signal returns from them are often weak," said Anthony Durham, the director of Nexrad for the National Weather Service. "Ideally at an airport, you want a system that covers a lot less territory — maybe 50 miles out — and looks at patterns very close to the ground." The picture needs to be updated every minute or so.

Nexrad, as even its strongest supporters acknowledge, is not yet designed for such a job.

The outlook for early solutions is dim. The competition between Sperry and Raytheon on Nexrad will not end until the middle of next year. It will be mid-1988 before the first prototypes are delivered and it will take at least a year or two more before the system is modified for airports.

The outlook for  
an early solution  
to airport hazard  
is unlikely.

Austerity  
Urged for  
Singapore  
Sharp Decline  
In Growth Cited

Reuters

SINGAPORE — Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew acknowledged Thursday that Singapore's economy had taken its worst fall in 20 years and called residents of the island state to tighten their belts.

Mr. Lee said Singapore's economy shrank 1.4 percent in the second quarter and that the outlook was poor for the rest of the year.

"Our economists have revised their forecast to zero growth for the whole of 1985, provided the U.S. economy picked up. Otherwise negative growth is likely," he said.

This was a sharp downward revision from earlier government forecasts of a 5- to 6-percent increase in the gross domestic product this year. GDP measures a country's total output of goods and services, minus income from operations abroad.

Mr. Lee said that one of the key reasons for the decline was the erosion of Singapore's international competitiveness compared with economic rivals like Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong.

Mr. Lee said, "the high costs of doing business, including high wages" had adversely affected the Singapore economy. Another reason was poor economic growth in the United States, which is the island's major trading partner and investor.

"Several sectors of our economy face a decline in demand, like shipyards, oil rigs, oil refining and petrochemicals," he said. "We have more capacity than anticipated demand for some years ahead."

He said 36,200 people lost their jobs in the first half of this year. Most were foreign workers, he said.

"If they were all Singaporeans, we would be in big trouble," he added.

Mr. Lee said Singapore's main task was to increase productivity and reduce costs.

"We must be supple, flexible, and elastic on wages, rents, taxes and fees," he said. "Then we shall regain our competitiveness within two years or, at the outside, three years."

## Shucking Myths About Eating Corn

Europeans Learn  
Maize is More  
Than Cattle Feed

By Barbara Bell

International Herald Tribune

STRASBOURG — When Peter Schubelin moved here 10 years ago, he planted a few rows of sweet corn in his garden. He had developed a taste for corn on the cob during years of work on Long Island, near New York, but could not find any in Alsace.

Last year, he sold 1.5 million ears of fresh sweet corn in the two-month picking season, making him easily the largest single producer in France. He exported 70 percent of that to 32 cities in West Germany, shipping by refrigerated truck four times a week through August and September.

This season, he expects to sell more than two million ears of fresh corn and is expanding into large-scale production of frozen corn kernels and other corn-related products, such as corn cobs pressed into briquettes to burn like charcoal and fritters, which are deep-fried corn batter.

"My goal is to colonize Europe with sweet corn," said Mr. Schubelin, a Swiss-born, naturalized American nuclear physicist who moved here to take charge of a French high-energy research laboratory.

He is the only person in Europe producing "really good" sweet corn, he says, mainly because, under an exclusive contract with a U.S. seed company whose name he will not reveal, he is the only one growing Super Sweet hybrids, in which genetic manipulation dramatically retards the conversion of the corn's sugar into starch.

The hardest part of selling sweet corn to Europeans is simply getting them to taste it, according to Mr. Schubelin, who constantly fights the misconception that sweet corn is the same as the field corn grown to feed livestock.

"In rural areas, people say, 'Oh, somebody's selling sweet corn in the shop. I'll have that at home,'" he said. "They go out to the field and pick some feed corn and boil it and... well, you'd have to ask a cow how it tastes."



Peter Schubelin is pushing corn on the cob.

His neighbors in the village of Bosendorf, 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) north of Strasbourg, liked sweet corn from their first hesitant tastes and he himself quickly got intrigued by the problems of growing it. After 1979, he phased himself out of the Nuclear Research Center to devote 18-hour days to corn and in 1980 founded his Unicorn Sweetcorn company.

Marketing gimmicks are essential in this battle. He organizes a "little army" of Alsatian youths with hot plates, kettles and corn to offer samples in West German supermarkets, where he says 80 percent of shoppers buy after their first taste. He distributes posters featuring his two photogenic children, Diana, 8, and Rodrigue, 6, and sells a 95-page booklet of sweet-corn recipes written by his wife, Mirjam.

And with each two ears of Unicorn corn, he packages five recipes and two yellow plastic corn-shaped skewers which are jabbed into each end of the cob so that eaters can hold the cob without getting messy fingers.

When President Ronald Reagan addressed the European Parliament here May 8, Mr. Schubelin traded his customary conservative tie and business suit

for a Stetson, cowboy boots and Western shirt and was interviewed about the sweet-corn business on Eurovision at a Franco-American friendship festival in Strasbourg's main square, where 5,000 ears of his corn on the cob — frozen last season — were eaten in four hours.

Converting Europeans to sweet-corn eating clearly amuses Mr. Schubelin, 45, but he is dead serious about the quality of his product, which he follows personally from field to consumer.

The Super Sweet hybrids — also known as Everlasting Heritage or E.H. varieties — that he plants for all fresh corn are about 30 percent more expensive to grow than other types of sweet corn and yield only half as many ears per hectare, about 20,000, as the others that Mr. Schubelin lumps together as "industrial varieties."

Ordinary sweet corn differs from field corn by genetic manipulation that slows the conversion of sugar into starch in corn on the plant. Super Sweet varieties, however, contain genes that completely block the sugar-to-starch process on the plant and so retard it after picking than an ear of corn, properly refrigerated.

(Continued on Page 15, Col. 3)

Shell Group Net  
Down 17% in  
Second Quarter

By Bob Hagerty

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Royal Dutch/Shell Group, hit by extraordinary costs in refining, shipping and metals, reported Thursday an unexpectedly sharp decline of 17 percent in second-quarter net income.

The Dutch-British oil giant said net income declined to £646 million (about \$872 million) from £778 million a year before. Sales increased 6.5 percent, to £15.67 billion from £14.7 billion.

Most analysts had predicted Shell to report earnings of well over £700 million, and disappointment at the report helped push the company's shares lower Thursday.

Shell Transport & Trading Co., the group's British arm, fell 15 pence after the report to close at 683 pence on the London Stock Exchange. In Amsterdam, shares of Royal Dutch Petroleum Co. closed at 190.40 guilders (\$59.50), down 4.80 guilders.

For 1985's first half, the group reported net income of £1.73 billion, down 1.7 percent from £1.76 billion. Sales climbed 11 percent, to £33.18 billion, from £29.98 billion.

As expected, the group made a provision of £100 million for the expected cost of closing a refinery in Curaçao. In addition, the group made unspecified provisions for mothballing two giant crude-oil tankers in line with efforts to streamline its bloated fleet.

It also made provisions and asset write-downs of £22 million in its metals business.

The group said its underlying performance was much better than the raw figures suggest. Leaving aside the Curaçao provision, the group said profit on an "estimated current cost of supplies basis," which strips out the effects of changing currency rates on inventory values, rose 5.6 percent, to £815 million from £772 million.

Without the exceptional items, "they're doing quite well," said David Johnson, an analyst at the Edinburgh stockbrokerage of Wood, Mackenzie & Co.

David Gray, of James Capel & Co. in London, termed the results only "marginally disappointing."

Oil production from fields in which the group has equity rose 4 percent in the quarter, while gas sales volume grew 3 percent.

In the refining and marketing outlets, profit margins outside North America widened as average sale proceeds declined more slowly than the costs of crude oil and other raw materials. Even so, some analysts had expected a stronger performance.

The profit contribution from Shell Oil, the U.S. unit, shrank to £227 million from £249 million, partly because of lower prices for oil products in the United States.

Group operating profit from chemicals slid 30 percent, to £62 million, from £88 million. The downturn partly reflected maintenance work at a petrochemical complex in Moerdijk, the Netherlands.

The long-suffering metals businesses showed a loss of £58 million, compared with a year-earlier profit of £1 million. The group cited continuing cost of restructuring and streamlining metals operations.

T-Bond Yields  
Fall at Auction

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Treasury said Thursday that it sold \$6.5 billion in 30-year bonds at an average yield of 10.66 percent, the lowest level in more than two years.

The rate for the new issue was down from an average of 11.38 percent for last quarter's issue of 30-year bonds on May 9, and was the lowest rate since 10.29 percent on May 5, 1983.

The sale, which attracted bids totaling \$15 billion, was the third and final auction of this week's quarterly refinancing, in which the government raised a record \$21.75 billion in new debt financing. Dealers said the "cover," or amount bid above what was actually sold, was "acceptable."

## Currency Rates

Cross Rates	Aug. 8
Australian dollar	1.38
British pound	1.77
Canadian dollar	0.75
Deutsche mark	2.36
French franc	6.55
Italian lira	1,936
Japanese yen	163.5
Netherlands guilder	2.20
New Zealand dollar	0.48
Portuguese escudo	200.48
Spanish peseta	166.64
Swedish krona	8.46
Swiss franc	1.48
Thai baht	50.76
West German mark	2.36
Yen	163.5

Source: Reuters. (a) Dollar = 100. (b) Franc = 100. (c) Mark = 100. (d) Yen = 100. (e) Pound = 100. (f) Swiss franc = 100. (g) Australian dollar = 100. (h) Canadian dollar = 100. (i) New Zealand dollar = 100. (j) Portuguese escudo = 100. (k) Spanish peseta = 100. (l) Swedish krona = 100. (m) Thai baht = 100. (n) West German mark = 100. (o) Yen = 100.

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Source: Reuters. (a) Dollar = 100. (b) Franc = 100. (c) Mark = 100. (d) Yen = 100. (e) Pound =



## U.S. Futures

Aug. 8

Season High Season Low Open High Low Close Chg.

Grains

WHEAT (CBT)

3,000 bu minimum, dollars per bushel

1985-86

1986-87

1987-88

1988-89

1989-90

1990-91

1991-92

1992-93

1993-94

1994-95

1995-96

1996-97

1997-98

1998-99

1999-00

2000-01

2001-02

2002-03

2003-04

2004-05

2005-06

2006-07

2007-08

2008-09

2009-10

2010-11

2011-12

2012-13

2013-14

2014-15

2015-16

2016-17

2017-18

2018-19

2019-20

2020-21

2021-22

2022-23

2023-24

2024-25

2025-26

2026-27

2027-28

2028-29

2029-30

2030-31

2031-32

2032-33

2033-34

2034-35

2035-36

2036-37

2037-38

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2042-43

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2055-56

2056-57

2057-58

2058-59

2059-60

2060-61

2061-62

2062-63

2063-64

2064-65

2065-66

2066-67

2067-68

2068-69

2069-70

2070-71

2071-72

2072-73

Season High Season Low Open High Low Close Chg.

Food

COFFEE (NYCSC)

100 lbs, cents per lb

1985-86

1986-87

1987-88

1988-89

1989-90

1990-91

1991-92

1992-93

1993-94

1994-95

1995-96

1996-97

1997-98

1998-99

1999-00

2000-01

2001-02

2002-03

2003-04

2004-05

2005-06

2006-07

2007-08

2008-09

2009-10

2010-11

2011-12

2012-13

2013-14

2014-15

2015-16

2016-17

2017-18

2018-19

2019-20

2020-21

2021-22

2022-23

2023-24

2024-25

2025-26

2026-27

2027-28

2028-29

2029-30

2030-31

2031-32

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2060-61

2061-62

2062-63

2063-64

2064-65

2065-66

2066-67

2067-68

2068-69

2069-70

2070-71

2071-72

2072-73

2073-74

2074-75

2075-76

Season High Season Low Open High Low Close Chg.

Metals

COPPER (COMEX)

3,600 lbs, cents per lb

1985-86

1986-87

1987-88

1988-89

1989-90

1990-91

1991-92

1992-93

1993-94

1994-95

1995-96

1996-97

1997-98

1998-99

1999-00

2000-01

2001-02

2002-03

2003-04

2004-05

2005-06

2006-07

2007-08

2008-09

2009-10

2010-11

2011-12

2012-13

2013-14

2014-15

2015-16

2016-17

2017-18

2018-19

2019-20

2020-21

2021-22

2022-23

2023-24

2024-25

2025-26

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2027-28

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2060-61

2061-62

2062-63

2063-64

2064-65

2065-66

2066-67

2067-68

2068-69

2069-70

2070-71

2071-72

2072-73

2073-74

2074-75

2075-76

Season High Season Low Open High Low Close Chg.

Stocks

DOW JONES

1985-86

1986-87

1987-88

1988-89

1989-90

1990-91

1991-92

1992-93

1993-94

1994-95

1995-96

1996-97

1997-98

1998-99

1999-00

2000-01

2001-02

2002-03

2003-04

2004-05

2005-06

2006-07

2007-08

2008-09

2009-10

2010-11

2011-12

2012-13

2013-14

2014-15

2015-16

2016-17

2017-18

2018-19

2019-20

2020-21

2021-22

2022-23

2023-24

2024-25

2025-26

2026-27

2027-28

2028-29

2029-30

2030-31

2031-32

2032-33

2033-34

2034-35

2035-36

2036-37

2037-38

2038-39

2039-40

2040-41

2041-42

2042-43



















## SPORTS

## 9 Months of Dispute Took 1 Hour to End

By Murray Chass

NEW YORK — Negotiators for the baseball players and the club owners said Wednesday that they had resolved nine months of disagreement in only one hour, thus ending the second baseball strike in five years.

The season, which had been interrupted after Monday night's games, will resume Thursday. The 25 games missed will be made up as parts of doubleheaders or on scheduled open dates.

Shortly after noon Wednesday, the commissioner, Peter Ueberroth, announced that a "tentative understanding" had been reached on a five-year contract. The negotiators then went to the Major League Players Association office, where they put the agreement into contract language. A news conference to announce the agreement was scheduled for 5 P.M., but the lawyers needed much more time with the language, and the formal announcement was not made until 10:45.

The critical step in the talks came at the start of the 10 A.M. bargaining session at the apartment of Lee MacPhail, the owners' chief negotiator. While seven other members of the negotiating teams waited in separate rooms, Donald Fehr, the union chief, and Barry Rona, MacPhail's counsel, met privately. Rona told Fehr the owners were willing to drop their demand for a cap on the salary a player could receive from salary arbitration. The players already had indicated a willingness to agree to a change in the eligibility requirement for arbitration.

The talks proceeded smoothly and quickly from that point. By the time Ueberroth arrived at MacPhail's apartment at about 11 A.M., a new collective bargaining agreement, to replace the one that expired Dec. 31, had been worked out. Ueberroth, who had said he could not allow a strike, congratulated the negotiators, and everyone shook hands.

Thus ended a strike that threatened to eradicate the last two months of the season, which so far had produced record attendance for the major leagues. In 1981, when negotiations were abrasive and stormy, players struck for 50

days in June and July and forced the creation of a split season.

The issue that had induced that strike, compensation in the form of professional players for the signing of free agents, was a matter that did not receive much attention this time. In fact, the two sides agreed to eliminate it altogether, meaning clubs that lost certain high-ranking free agents will no longer receive a professional player as compensation.

In the meantime, clubs and players were instructed to prepare to play Thursday. The season resumes with the New York Mets in first place in the National League's Eastern Division, the Los Angeles Dodgers leading the National League West, and the Toronto Blue Jays and the California Angels in first place in the American League East and West, respectively.

Officials decided to treat the games, in effect, as rainouts that will be made up. Players' pay for the two days lost will depend on when the makeup games are played. If a game is rescheduled as a separate date, players will receive their entire pay for that day. If a game is rescheduled as part of a doubleheader, players will receive half

pay. Thus, players could miss no pay at all, or they could lose the equivalent of one day's salary. They will not lose service-credit time for the strike.

Although the owners' contribution to the players' benefit plan started out as the central issue, it was eclipsed in recent weeks by the dispute over salary arbitration, the procedure by which a player can have a salary disagreement settled by an arbitrator.

The players wanted to leave the 12-year-old system intact, which called for an arbitrator to select either a figure submitted by a player or the one submitted by his team. The owners, saying they wanted to retard the rate at which salaries have increased, demanded two significant changes. They wanted to raise the eligibility requirement from two years of major league service to three, and they wanted to restrict an arbitrator's salary award to 100 percent over the previous year's salary.

The players, though, were adamant in their stand against the maximum increase. "Once we educated everyone to the consequences and the ramifications of the cap," said Buck Mari-

nez of Toronto, the American League's alternate player representative, "we had tremendous strength."

The owners clung determinedly to the idea, refusing to relinquish it until the session Wednesday morning—the sixth in three days held at undisclosed sites.

One source said Fehr first got a hint of the owners' willingness to abandon the arbitration cap at the fourth and final meeting Tuesday, the first day of the strike.

The players agreed to add a year to the eligibility requirement but not until 1987, the third year of the agreement. The only current major leaguers who will be affected by the extra year are those who at the end of this season, will have less than one year in the majors.

The two sides reached agreement on the benefit contribution issue when the players agreed to accept significantly less than the one-third share of the national television revenue they had received in previous contracts. The contribution under the expired agreement was \$15.5 million.

Under the new agreement, the owners will contribute \$196 million, or an average of \$32.7 million

a year. The owners will add to the 1984 and 1985 contributions so that the total will be \$25 million and \$33 million instead of \$15.5 million. The contribution will be \$33 million for each of the next three years and \$39 million for 1989.

When the players offered to reduce their demand of \$60 million a year to \$40 million, they proposed that the difference be used by the owners to help "disadvantaged" clubs, those that play in the smallest markets and have the lowest revenue. That plan, though, was not part of the agreement.

Among other elements of the agreement, the owners agreed to abolish the free-agent draft so that free agents may negotiate with all clubs. However, if a player's old club wants to retain rights to him, it has to agree to let him go to salary arbitration the following February if he desires. The draft has been used for teams to select negotiating rights to players since free agency's inception in 1976.

The minimum salary will be increased from \$40,000 to \$60,000, with a cost-of-living adjustment made in ensuing seasons.

## Another Big Winner Was Commissioner Ueberroth

By Kenneth Reich

Los Angeles Times Service

NEW YORK — The settlement of the baseball strike after just one day has added to the already impressive reputation of the commissioner, Peter Ueberroth, as a man who can get things done.

Ueberroth said Wednesday night that he had no role in the events that led to ending the strike. But knowledgeable sources said he had made few mistakes in handling the dispute, and credited him with a series of behind-the-scenes maneuvers that helped smooth the way to settlement.

Weeks ago he quietly adopted a policy of leaning toward the union and leaning on the owners as a means of bringing about a settlement. Friends in whom he confided said his reasoning was that since there was no way he could compel the players not to strike, he had to see that the terms offered them were so satisfactory that they would not want to strike.

As for the owners, Ueberroth had concluded that, if necessary, he could use the powers of the commissioner's office to act "in the best inter-

ests of baseball" to compel them to accept certain terms.

Ueberroth did not want to act in such a dramatic fashion, but after he dropped enough hints that he would, the owners became worried. Even the owners' chief negotiator, Lee MacPhail, alluded Wednesday night to a fear the owners had of outside intervention. He could only have been talking of the man the owners themselves had hired as commissioner last year, Ueberroth.

The owners feared that if the strike went on, Ueberroth might offer his own terms, which the union could accept. The players then would come back to play and the only option the owners would have would be to lock them out, something that undoubtedly would have been highly unpopular with the fans.

After June 1, in a series of clubhouse meetings with the players, Ueberroth made it clear that he was opposed to the owners' proposal for a cap on players' salaries. He remarked that he thought it was unfair of the owners to blame the financial problems caused by their mismanagement on the players.

This effectively cut the ground from the owners' key negotiating position, and although Ueberroth backed them on some of their other positions, he had sent a key signal to the union that it could effectively hold firm against the proposal it hated most—the salary cap.

At the same time, Ueberroth was building strong public support for his position by appearing on numerous television shows to vocally support the opposition most fans felt toward a strike, and to proclaim that he was going to support neither the owners' nor the players' positions but would be the fans' commissioner.

In Wednesday's editions of the New York Times, columnist Ira Berkow remarked that Ueberroth had emerged from the situation with a polished image. He noted that most of the serious proposals that Ueberroth made last week had been accepted, and he added, "Ueberroth all along has said that the fans were his major concern, and that he would act in their benefit above all others—their and the game of baseball. At this point it seems that there is considerable substance behind those glossy remarks."



## One Army That's Not on the March

Arnold Palmer was not excited by Wednesday's practice round for the PGA Championship, but then he did not play well. The prestigious tournament began Thursday at Cherry Hills Country Club in Denver, where Palmer, 55, won the U.S. Open in 1960.

## SCOREBOARD

## Transition

BASEBALL				
National League				
CINCINNATI	—	—	—	—
ATLANTA	—	—	—	—
PHILADELPHIA	—	—	—	—
ST. LOUIS	—	—	—	—
CHICAGO	—	—	—	—
NEW YORK	—	—	—	—
MONTEREAL	—	—	—	—
WASHINGTON	—	—	—	—
AMERICAN LEAGUE	—	—	—	—
NEW YORK	—	—	—	—
DETROIT	—	—	—	—
MINNEAPOLIS	—	—	—	—
KANSAS CITY	—	—	—	—
ST. LOUIS	—	—	—	—
CHICAGO	—	—	—	—
NEW YORK	—	—	—	—
DETROIT	—	—	—	—
MINNEAPOLIS	—	—	—	—
KANSAS CITY	—	—	—	—

## Baseball

## Major League Standings

NATIONAL LEAGUE				
Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	42	22	.656	—
Montreal	37	27	.576	5
Chicago	34	30	.530	8
Philadelphia	29	35	.450	13
Pittsburgh	23	41	.361	19
West Division				
Los Angeles	41	23	.641	—
San Diego	35	29	.547	6
San Francisco	34	30	.530	7
Arizona	29	35	.450	12
San Francisco	21	43	.328	20
AMERICAN LEAGUE				
Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
California	37	27	.576	—
Seattle	34	30	.530	3
Minnesota	33	31	.515	4
Chicago	29	35	.450	9
San Francisco	28	36	.438	10
Los Angeles	27	37	.423	11
San Diego	26	38	.406	12
San Francisco	25	39	.391	13
Seattle	24	40	.377	14
Minnesota	23	41	.361	15
California	22	42	.345	16
San Francisco	21	43	.328	17
Seattle	20	44	.312	18
Los Angeles	19	45	.297	19
San Diego	18	46	.281	20

## Golf

## PGA Championship

PGA Championship				
Player	Score	Par	Strokes	Rank
Greg LeMond	69	-1	135	1
Tommy Jack	70	0	136	2
David Gilford	71	+1	137	3
John Huh	72	+2	138	4
Tommy Jack	73	+3	139	5
David Gilford	74	+4	140	6
John Huh	75	+5	141	7
Tommy Jack	76	+6	142	8
David Gilford	77	+7	143	9
John Huh	78	+8	144	10
Tommy Jack	79	+9	145	11
David Gilford	80	+10	146	12
John Huh	81	+11	147	13
Tommy Jack	82	+12	148	14
David Gilford	83	+13	149	15
John Huh	84	+14	150	16
Tommy Jack	85	+15	151	17
David Gilford	86	+16	152	18
John Huh	87	+17	153	19
Tommy Jack	88	+18	154	20
David Gilford	89	+19	155	21
John Huh	90	+20	156	22
Tommy Jack	91	+21	157	23
David Gilford	92	+22	158	24
John Huh	93	+23	159	25
Tommy Jack	94	+24	160	26
David Gilford	95	+25	161	27
John Huh	96	+26	162	28
Tommy Jack	97	+27	163	29
David Gilford	98	+28	164	30
John Huh	99	+29	165	31
Tommy Jack	100	+30	166	32
David Gilford	101	+31	167	33
John Huh	102	+32	168	34
Tommy Jack	103	+33	169	35
David Gilford	104	+34	170	36
John Huh	105	+35	171	37
Tommy Jack	106	+36	172	38
David Gilford	107	+37	173	39
John Huh	108	+38	174	40
Tommy Jack	109	+39	175	41
David Gilford	110	+40	176	42
John Huh	111	+41	177	43
Tommy Jack	112	+42	178	44
David Gilford	113	+43	179	45
John Huh	114	+44	180	46
Tommy Jack	115	+45	181	47
David Gilford	116	+46	182	48
John Huh	117	+47	183	49
Tommy Jack	118	+48	184	50

## Round Europe Race: Costly Boats of Speed

By Jennifer Gill

International Herald Tribune

LA TRINITE SUR MER — The two-hulled catamarans and three-hulled trimarans swung gently with the tide, dwarfing the trawlers and day-sailers moored in this small Brittany fishing village. But aboard the giant catamarans, crews were busily making final preparations before sailing up the English channel and into the North Sea to Kiel, in Germany. There, the Round Europe Race, the first of its kind for open class multihulls, is to start Friday.

This race, sponsored and partly financed by the European Community, but mostly financed by the Saudi owned TAG Group, has drawn a fleet of the largest and swiftest racing boats ever to put to sea. Their 3,000-mile (1,864-kilometer) course will take them from Kiel to The Hague, to Zebruggen in Belgium, Torquay in England, Lorient in France and Lisbon, to Benalmadena in Spain, Toulon in France and Porto Cervo in Sardinia, where they are due to arrive at early in September.

One of the 25 boats entered, the 80-foot (24-meter) catamaran named Formule Tag, holds the record for most miles covered in 24 hours crossing the Atlantic, having averaged just over 21 knots (about 25 miles or 40 kilometers an hour) — a phenomenal figure when compared to the 10 knots a single-hulled 40-foot yacht can do under full sail. But the ocean-going multihulls in the Round Europe Race are

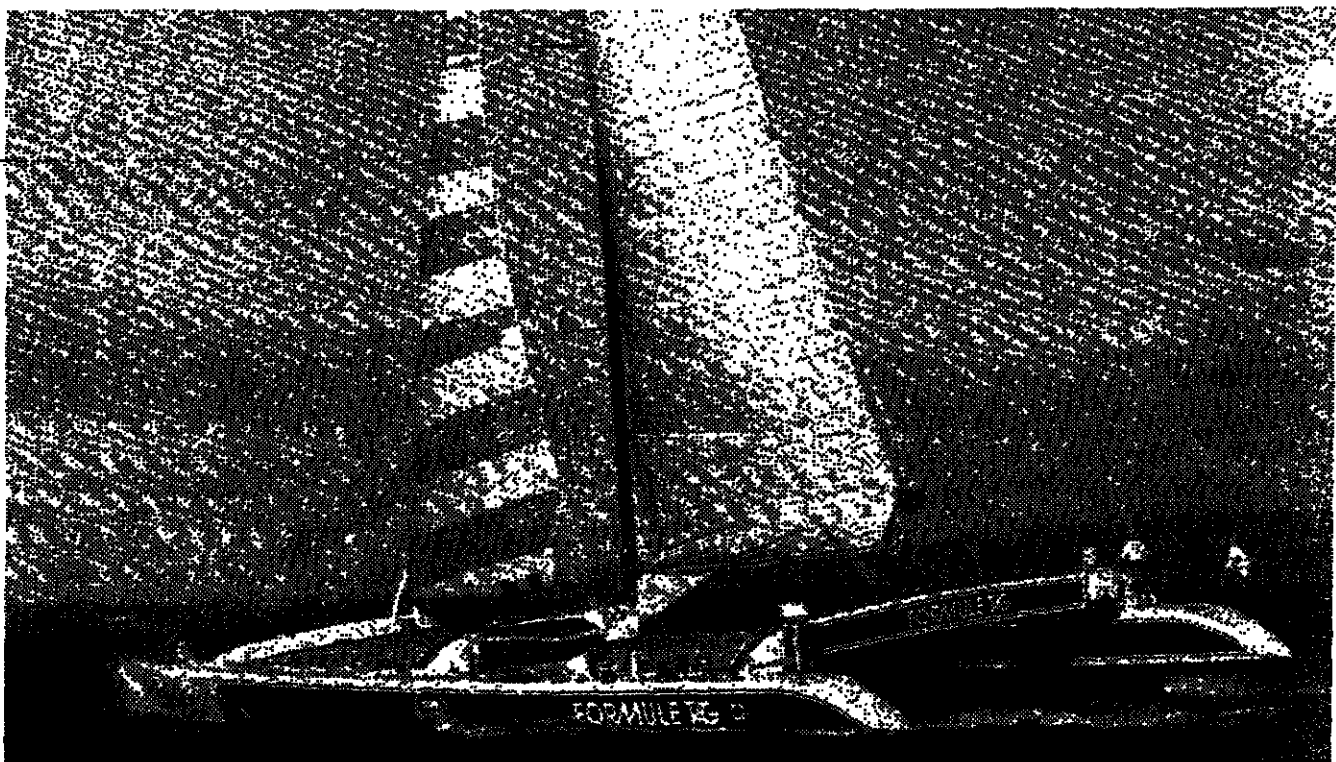
capable of reaching speeds of 32 knots.

They range from 42-foot trimarans to the maxi-catamarans of 85 feet, ocean-racers still very much in the development stages since the first multihulls were sailed in the Single-Handed Transatlantic race in 1964. But these prototype boats are ultra-sophisticated, from their design to the epoxy or fiberglass and carbon kevlar materials of which they are built.

Into the streamlined, three-foot wide hulls are crammed berths for off-watch crewmen, the galley and the chart table, the latter surrounded by a battery of electronic and computerized navigational aids: VHF and long distance radio, satellite navigation systems, radar and wind speed and direction instruments. Some boats are equipped with generators, some of the smaller ones with solar panels, to run all the electronics.

This also is a fleet of some of the most expensive racing boats ever constructed. The Formule Tag was built in Montreal in 1983, under the direction of the British boat designer, Nigel Irens, and cost "just under a million Canadian dollars" (\$735,000 at present rates), according to Mike Birch, its skipper. The mast, he added, cost "approximately 40,000 dollars," but that is less than one-quarter of the price of the wing mast with which many of the boats now are equipped. "It's an expensive game," said Birch.

His boat is sponsored by the Canadian affiliate of the TAG Group, owned by the Saudi multimillion-



Formule Tag, an 80-foot catamaran entered in the Round Europe Race starting Friday, can reach speeds of 32 knots.

aire, Akram Ojeh, whose activities include aviation, building construction, hotels and agriculture in the Middle East, Europe and the United States. French sponsors range from regional commercial bankers to the gasoline giant Elf Aquitaine, Royale cigarettes and the sausage maker Fleury Michon.

The boats they are backing will be racing for the first time under regatta conditions. Some of the legs of the Round Europe Race will be as short as 60 miles, a distance over which the bigger boats will not lose sight of each other and where, un-

like long transatlantic races, tactics as well as knowledge of local waters will count as much as speed.

Over these relatively short distances, calling for a lot of maneuvering and sail changing, the boats will need large crews. Birch's crew of seven is almost all French. "There are more French around," he said, "who've got the time to sail on boats all the time. There are lots of good people sailing in Canada and who are connected with boats, but obviously there aren't as many people to draw on."

Birch, 53, is a Canadian veteran of ocean racing. "No other country except for France, and maybe England, a little bit, has gone into this multihull sailing for money at all," he said. "There are people trying in the United States—but over there, it is a more established way of spending money in yachting and it is put into 12-meter America's Cup yachting."

Unlike most French sponsors, who will benefit directly in selling their products, TAG is hoping the publicity gained will boost its image of high-tech dynamism.

"I'm very lucky to have a sponsor, particularly as there are many very good sailors struggling to get boats," Birch said.

"I was lucky to come in at the beginning. The thing is, you have to go on winning or else somebody will come in and take your place."

"This Round Europe Race should be a good race," he said. "Everybody sails their boat just about as hard as they can, it doesn't make a lot of difference whether it is across an ocean or in coastal waters."

## Coors Bike Race Is Living Up to Its Billing

By Bob Lochner

Los Angeles Times Service

RENO, Nevada — Under the cover of expanding the sport of international bicycle racing into California, a noted Colorado brewer this week sent nearly 100 riders out onto the highways and byways of the Golden State, plus a corner of Nevada, in search of a greater market share for its product.

Drafting along behind were a convenience-store chain, a tea company, a power-tool manufacturer, and assorted other enterprises, all with teams of cyclists wearing enough commercial logos to make NASCAR and CART of the auto racing world very envious.

"This is a few national 'amateur' teams from France, Colombia, Mexico, Holland, Ireland, Cuba, East Germany and the Soviet Union, and you have, as advertised, the best field money could buy for the 11th Coors International bicycle race."

After racing for 352 miles (566 kilometers) in five days, the contestants took Thursday off to fly from Reno to Grand Junction, Colorado. There they will start another 665 miles of racing during a 10-day holiday in the Rockies.

At this point, the leader in the overall standings is Greg LeMond, the former Reno resident who last month became the only American to finish as high as second in the prestigious Tour de France. He took the lead Wednesday afternoon by winning the 69-mile race from Inciner Village, Nevada, to Reno by way of Virginia City, out-Reno by Andrew Hampsten of Boulder, Colorado, after they had left the pack more than four minutes behind.

Not far behind LeMond in the overall standings are Davis Phinney, the 1984 Olympic bronze medalist from Boulder, Steve Bauer, the Canadian silver medalist, and Bernard Hinault of France, who this year won his fifth Tour de France.

The presence of Hinault and LeMond has made this a major event, for a change. In previous years, the Tour de France conflicted with America's No. 1 cycling showcase. However, a schedule change and the inclusion of stages in California and Nevada in 1985 were enough to attract the sport's top names.

Hinault, 30, has won the Tour de France five times and the Giro D'Italia three times. He is still recover-

ing from a spill that broke his nose in two places during this year's tour, and some observers had questioned whether his visit to the United States was a sort of vacation.

LeMond, 24, is Hinault's teammate, for La Vie Claire in Europe and, with Bauer, for Red Zinger in the United States. It has been generally assumed that Hinault would help him win here, as LeMond had done for Hinault in France.

LeMond, who moved with his family from Los Angeles to Reno when he was 7, last Saturday had said, "Now, it's my turn. This is my race."

But the theory that he would get top billing in his native land was shaken a bit Tuesday, when Hinault won the toughest stage so far, 102 miles from Nevada City to Truckee, California. LeMond placed 11th.

Said Hinault, who had lagged behind during the earlier stages because he did not care for the courses: "See, I am not on vacation here. I did not care for the criteriums—the closed-course races on San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf and in Sacramento's Old Town, 'so I took it easy. But now, I am looking forward to the remain-

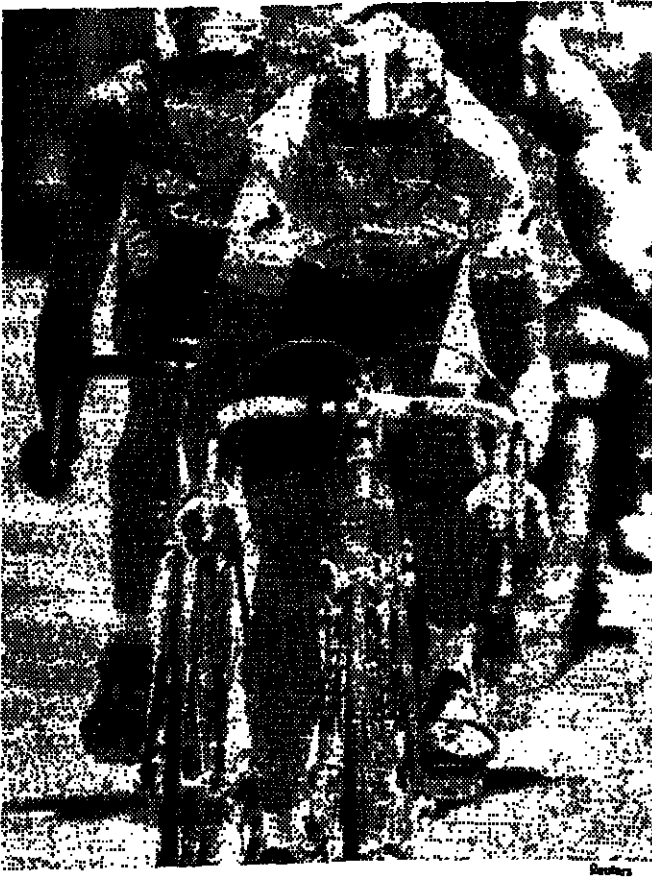
ing stages. I also want to enjoy each one and take time to look around at the beautiful countryside as I ride."

Still, Hinault stayed alert enough to capitalize on Phinney's mistake Tuesday as they sprinted, wheel to wheel, around the final bend.

Said Phinney: "We were never given a clear picture of the finish, so when I saw this banner across the street, I really went all out. The sun was in my eyes, and I couldn't read it. By the time I could, it was too late. I was committed."

The banner said, "Truckee Road, Aug. 10-11."

The finish-line banner was another block down the street, and Hinault, who prefers to speak French, obviously is able to read English. At the proper moment, he shot by the spent Phinney.



Greg LeMond, who won Wednesday's mountainous, 69-mile race to Reno, Nevada, leads in the overall standings.

## SPORTS BRIEFS

## Dorsett Accuses Cowboys of 'Leak'

THOUSAND OAKS, California (AP) — Tony Dorsett, the Dallas Cowboys' running back who says he may retire or ask to be traded if his contract demands are not met, has accused the National Football League's team president, Tex Schramm, of "spreading my financial business all over town."



